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THE

HISTORY

OF

THE REFORMATION

OF THE

Church of England:

110780

BY

HENRY SOAMES, M.A.

RECTOR OF SHELLEY, IN ESSEX.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

JOHN, EARL OF ELDON,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF GREAT BRITAIN.

MY LORD,

THE interest invariably taken by your Lordship in every question concerning the Church and Clergy of England, encourages me to hope, that you will pardon the freedom of this address. It is true, indeed, that an unknown writer, who has ventured to handle an arduous subject, cannot expect to present a literary offering worthy the acceptance of a nobleman, long pre-eminent for talents and integrity, in a country graced by so many bright examples of intellectual and moral worth. He may, however, be excused

in embracing a public opportunity of showing himself not insensible to the services rendered to his principles and profession, by the more illustrious of his contemporaries. Such, my Lord, is the feeling which now guides my pen. I have long observed, that of all the distinguished characters who advocate the cause of that holy religion, so happily established in this favoured land, upon the rock of recorded apostolic truth, and who rightly appreciate the utility and just expectations of my own order of men, no one is more consistent, unwearied, zealous, and discriminating, than your Lordship.

I have the honour, my Lord, to subscribe myself, with great respect and sincerity,

Your Lordship's faithful

And devoted servant,

THE AUTHOR.

Shelley Parsonage,
Oct. 28, 1825.

PREFACE.

THE work now offered to the public originated from the writer's desire to employ the ample leisure allowed to him by a cure of small extent, in a manner not unsuited to his habits and profession. In thinking of some literary engagement for this purpose, it struck him that Englishmen in general were very imperfectly acquainted with Archbishop Cranmer's character and services. There is indeed an elaborate work, devoted to the history of that admirable prelate, by the indefatigable Mr. Strype; but it is a compilation little likely, from its style and arrangement, to be known nearly so much as it deserves. There is also an elegantly-written life of our great Reformer, from the pen of the late excellent Mr. Gilpin. This, however, from its brevity, does not render complete justice to its subject; and from being merely one mem-

ber in a collection of biographical pieces, it does not give sufficient prominence to Cranmer. In order to remedy this deficiency in our national literature, it seemed desirable to compile a complete account of the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, combined with the ecclesiastical history of England during his primacy.

A work devoted to these objects was more than half ready for the press, when a review announced, that Mr. Todd was employed in vindicating the character of Archbishop Cranmer from some calumnies which have recently been revived*. Anxious to avoid an appearance of competition with a gentleman whose abilities have long been known to the public, the writer was then induced to think of giving a new form to his materials. It had often occurred to him, in the course of his

* This work has since appeared: it is entitled "A Defence of the True and Catholick Doctrine of the Sacrament, by the Most Reverend Thomas Cranmer, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. To which is prefixed, an Introduction, Historical and Critical: by the Rev. H. J. Todd." London, 1825.

enquiries, that although no division of English history is more interesting and important than that relating to the Reformation, it is very inadequately known to the generality of readers. Of this the reason is obvious: while other departments of history, both domestic and foreign, have been illustrated from time to time by able authors, that of the Reformation has only been accessible in the volumes of Burnet and Strype. These historians have indeed accumulated an immense collection of valuable matter; but the subject of which they treat cannot be completely understood without reading their works conjointly; a labour for which the mass of readers have neither time nor inclination. If, therefore, it be desirable that the liberal spirit of enquiry, which pervades the intellectual portion of English society, should be directed to the particulars of our national emancipation from papal thraldom, it is necessary that a modern work, combining the information contained in different former publications, should be written for the purpose.

That the compilation of such a work involves a fearful load of labour and responsibility, did not escape the writer's notice when he determined upon attempting it. But in preparing for a publication of less importance, he had accumulated a large portion of the materials requisite for a new History of the Reformation; and recent events did not allow him to doubt, that the more extended diffusion of information relating to the Church of England is urgently required. The present time has witnessed the revival of much that has slumbered in oblivion since the reign of King James II.; and, among other things, of historical attacks upon the Reformation. Accounts are published of that remarkable revolution in human affairs, omitting the mention of many facts, and giving such a colouring to others, as occasions no little surprise in the public mind. To prevent men from being bewildered and misled by these unexpected statements, it is necessary that some individual, competently acquainted with the facts, should lay them fully, with their vouchers, before the mass of readers. It is

indeed important that this task should fall into the hands of an able and experienced author. But no man can prepare such a work within a short time; nor is it certain that any individual, fully capable of rendering justice to the subject, will find the leisure or the disposition to undertake it. The time, however, presses. It is of considerable importance that Englishmen, without delay, should be supplied with means of easy access to judge what really was the system from which their ancestors emancipated themselves three centuries ago, and what were the true distinctions of the struggle in which they were engaged. Perhaps, therefore, an unknown individual, who feels that characters, which he reveres, have been libelled, and transactions, of which he knows the details have been misrepresented, may be pardoned if he ventures to step forward, and submit to his countrymen the information which he has accumulated. Those who may think what he has written worthy of their perusal, will at least see from it that statements, very different from many recently

offered to the public, may be easily supplied, and may be supported by sufficient vouchers.

Having said thus much by way of excusing the appearance of his work, the writer desires to inform his readers, that although what is presented to them bears something of a controversial character, it was undertaken with no such view. He was not aware, when he began to write a biography of Cranmer, of the extent to which ancient and modern Romanists have carried their abuse of that illustrious ornament to the English prelacy. Dr. Lingard's History he had then never seen, nor other works of a similar character: some such indeed have been very lately published. When, however, the draught of Cranmer's life was completed, the writer met with the new Romish History of England: subsequently he consulted other publications of modern Romanists. Extracts from these books will occasionally be found in the notes appended to the present work, and in the text will be found statements very much at

variance with those contained in Romish publications: statements, however, it should be again observed, not written to counterbalance what authors of different sentiments have advanced, but prepared before the pages of these authors had been examined by the compiler. After his examination of the contrary testimony, he saw no reason to change his opinion in any one instance: he, however, wishes his readers to judge for themselves, and therefore he has subjoined, upon several occasions, the Romish version of his facts. Indeed it seems to him a matter entirely to be wished, that Romish histories should be fairly confronted with Protestant ones. The credit of the Reformation is not likely to be advanced by any concealments. On the contrary, the writer has felt a conviction, in every stage of his enquiries, that the more fully Englishmen are acquainted with the objects and particulars of that revolution which agitated their country in the sixteenth century, and with the character of the opposition which it encountered, the higher will rise their gratitude to the memory of those

celebrated men, who carried through such important alterations in the national polity

To those readers who may approve of his design, but feel dissatisfied with the manner in which the work is executed, the writer desires to say, that his labours have been prosecuted under very considerable disadvantages: since, without the inconvenience of going from home, he has no access to books beyond what his own very limited collection will supply. This fact, it is hoped, will with some, who may take up these pages, be considered to excuse the absence of a greater display of references.

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INTRODUCTION

Introductory remarks—Importance of the Roman bishops during the Pagan period—Their situation on the conversion of Constantine—Their condition under the Greek emperors—The Iconoclastic rebellion—The Lombards—Pepin—Charlemagne—The feudal system—Papal policy during the middle ages—Monachism—Darkness of the ages succeeding that of Charlemagne—Gregory VII.—The schoolmen—Rise of the opposition to Romanism—The Waldenses—The Albigenses—Innocent III.—Wickliffe—The council of Constance—The Papal schism—Alexander VI.—Julius II.—The revival of literature—Erasmus—Faber—Leo X.—Indulgences—Luther—Zuingle—Effects of their opposition to the Papacy.

Among the copious details of history, those portions claim the greatest degree of attention, which trace the origin and progress of such mighty revolutions as give a lasting impulse to the mental energies of a nation. It is only by diligently examining the causes which operated, the principles which prevailed, and the characters of those who took the lead in public affairs, at some interesting epoch, that liberal minds are enabled to form an accurate opinion upon many questions of importance. From no event in these later ages have such questions arisen more abundantly than from

the Reformation. Nor without a competent knowledge of the principles and transactions which signalized the sixteenth century, is it possible either to estimate correctly the existing state of European society, or to bear an effective part in such controversies as are of so frequent occurrence, that few persons in superior life can wholly decline them. Especially, however, is an Englishman and a Protestant concerned in forming a correct idea of the causes which incited his ancestors to renounce communion with the Roman Church, of the course which was taken for the accomplishment of that object, and of the claims to the confidence of posterity, possessed by the men who made a conspicuous figure during the struggles to which a change of such magnitude naturally gave rise. For the obtainment of correct information upon these subjects, the literary labours of past times have left ample materials; but the facts offered to the student's notice are of no easy collection, because dispersed in many different works; nor, without an anxious consideration of them in all their bearings, is it possible to form a sound conclusion as to their real merits, for party spirit has involved them in much obscurity. Another review, therefore, of those transactions, which have altered the face of English society, and which are still occasionally the theme of keen debate, can hardly be deemed superfluous, especially by those who know that former writers upon these subjects have been studiously depreciated. To undertake such an attempt, is indeed an arduous

labour, and one which a man who has read a considerable portion of what has been written upon both sides of the question, can scarcely hope to execute so as to give full satisfaction even to himself, much less to his readers. He may, however, correct the known errors of preceding writers, and he may bring scattered facts together, so as to illustrate particular subjects: humble services, it must be allowed; but, notwithstanding, such as will enable intelligent Englishmen to form an opinion as to how far the Reformers laid the foundations of their country's moral, intellectual, and political superiority.

There are few objects exhibited in the annals of mankind more worthy of attentive consideration than the Papacy. A power physically weak, exercised during several centuries an influence almost despotic over states at a distance from its seat, and bound together by no other common tie; from which also, in an age of poverty, it succeeded in drawing considerable pecuniary supplies. There are those who would readily solve this political problem by referring its particulars to that spiritual superiority, which, it is asserted, was divinely conferred upon the acknowledged visible head of the Roman Church. But since that dignified personage never has been universally considered among Christians as the depositary of such an exalted privilege, a large number of enquirers will naturally seek to account for the pre-eminence attained by his see upon grounds merely secular. These are sufficiently obvious.

The bishop of that city, which was for ages the mighty seat of empire and refinement, could not fail, from the rapid extension of evangelical truth, to preside, after a sufficient lapse of time, over a church of great extent [a] and opulence. It was accordingly found, even under the Pagan emperors, that the persecutions, which at intervals oppressed the Roman Christians, did not avail to prevent them from becoming a very numerous and a very wealthy society [b]. The importance of their principal ecclesiastic was naturally proportioned to that of his flock, and the splendid style in which he lived, enabled him to occupy a distinguished place among the Roman aristocracy. Thus the provincial Christians, whom the calls of business, the need of sound advice, or the desire of intellectual improvement, summoned to the capital, could scarcely fail of returning to their homes impressed with a high opinion of the metropolitan prelate's power and station. Towards the end of the Pagan period, the Roman bishop's grandeur was not even eclipsed by the contrast with imperial state. Diocletian's warlike avocations, and his sensibility to popular licentiousness, rendered him no more than a hasty and occasional

[a] "The society of the faithful bore a just proportion to the capital of the empire." Gibbon, Decline and Fall. (Lond. 1823.) II. 163.

[b] "About a hundred years before the reign of Decius, (A.D. 248.) the Roman Church had received, in a single donation, two hundred thousand sesterces from a stranger of Pontus, who proposed to fix his residence in the capital." Ibid. 167.

visitor in the palace of the Cæsars [c]. At length he finally fixed his residence at Nicomedia. His colleague, Maximian, for the sake of keeping in check the barbarians who threatened Italy, established his court at Milan. The seat of government was thus transferred from the ancient metropolis, never to return; for the policy which first led to the removal of the associated emperors induced their successors to follow their example.

At length, by the foundation of a new capital [d], Constantine cut off from the Romans a reasonable hope of seeing their city again dignified by the presence of the court; and, in consequence of his conversion to Christianity [e], he legally invested their bishop with a distinguished rank in the body politic. It is indeed true, that on the final transfer of his own residence from Italy, the emperor left in that country one of those four great officers of state, who, under the name of prætorian prefects, exercised an extensive authority without appeal. This important functionary, however, took up his abode, not in Rome, but in Milan [f].

[c] "Till Diocletian, in the twentieth year of his reign, celebrated his Roman triumph, it is extremely doubtful whether he ever visited the ancient capital of the empire." Gibbon, Decline and Fall. (Lond. 1823.) II. 35.

[d] Constantinople was probably dedicated in 334. Ibid. 295.

[e] "First published to the world by the laws and edicts which this emperor issued out in the year 324." Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, by Maclaine. (Lond. 1819.) I. 321.

[f] Allix on the Ancient Churches of Piedmont, i. (Oxford, 1821.) This arrangement arising, probably, merely from the superiority of Milan as a military station, gave a seeming colour

The government of the Church was modelled according to the civil arrangement of the Roman empire. Thirteen districts, under the name of dioceses [g], comprised the ample territorities lying at a distance from the capital, which were subjected to the successors of Augustus: in most or all of these, the prelate whose see was placed in the principal city [h], exercised an authority over

to an impudent fiction, which Pope Adrian I. introduced to the world before the end of the eighth century. Constantine, he said, had on founding the new capital, made over the old one to the bishop of Rome and his successors, as a perpetual sovereignty. This indeed, according to other accounts, was far from being the extent of Constantine's liberality: his donation comprised all Italy and the western provinces of the empire. Thus, during the middle ages, the Pope's partizans were enabled to defend his interference in the politics of the West, by asserting that Constantine's donation gave to him the right of controlling states originally consigned to his particular governance. Gibbon says, that this pretended donation of Constantine, though long admitted on all hands to be supposititious, "is still enrolled among the decrees of the canon law." Decline and Fall, VI. 207.

[g] "For so they began to style these large divisions about the time of Constantine; whereof seven in the eastern parts, Egypt, the Orient, or East, properly so called, Asiana, Pontica, Thrace, Macedonia, and Dacia; and six in the west, Italy, Afric, Illyricum, France, Spain, and Britain; besides the Roman prefecture, extending to the provinces round about the city, which had anciently been a peculiar government, equal, yea superior, in dignity to any diocese." Dissertation concerning the Government of the Ancient Church, by W. Cave, D.D. (Lond. 1683.) 31.

[h] "Except in Afric, where the primate was usually the senior bishop of the province." Bingham's Christian Antiquities, I. 341. Lond. 1726.

all the other bishops of the district, and was called the exarch or primate[j]. Again, each diocese was subdivided into several provinces, in each of which a prelate was seated in the most considerable town, with the name of metropolitan, and with authority over all the other bishops of the province[k]. This metropolitical authority was originally the boundary of archiepiscopal power[l]: nor does it appear probable, that even the bishop of Rome, great as were his opulence and dignity, possessed, during the earliest ages of his church, any jurisdiction beyond the limits assigned to the chief magistrate of the capital[m]. This great officer, known as the prefect of Rome, governed that city, and all the country within a hundred miles of it[n]. Commensurate with the prefect's

[j] It does not clearly appear that no diocese was without its patriarch, although it is known that every province possessed its metropolitan. Bingham's Christian Antiquities, I. 342.

[k] So that "they should attempt nothing of moment without his knowledge and consent." Cave's Anc. Ch. Gov. 37.

[l] This is evident from a canon of the Council of Nice (holden in 325,) cited by Dr. Cave. Ibid. 50.

[m] Ibid. 98.

[n] As it is expressly said in a rescript of the Emperor Severus. (Ibid. 108.) "Sirmondus, and others after him, extends the number of the suburbicary countries to ten, which he makes the same with the ten provinces that were under the *Vicarius Urbicus*, and to have thence taken their denomination." (Ibid. 111.) This prefecture contained the following provinces: "Picenum Suburbicarium, Campania, Tuscia and Umbria, Apulia and Calabria, Brutii and Lucania, Samnium, Valeria, Sicilia, Sardinia, Corsica." (Bingham, I. 343.) "That the bishop of Rome's authority extended anciently over all these provinces, is, however,

power, it is by far most likely, was that of the Roman bishop. He was the metropolitan of the suburbicary churches, congregations both numerous and respectable, but which, there is very little, if any, good reason to suppose, extended beyond a hundred miles from the capital. However, after the conversion of Constantine, the Roman bishop obtained an addition of dignity. The prelates who occupied the four principal sees, Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, and Constantinople, were distinguished by the Jewish title of patriarch [o], and were popularly considered to hold a dignity resembling that of the four prætorian prefects [p]. Among the prelates thus honoured, the

rendered extremely doubtful, both because the islands especially could hardly be called 'suburbicary,' with any propriety, and because one of them, viz. Sicily, though belonging to the *Vicarius Urbis*, is most expressly distinguished from the urbicary regions, and as equally as it is from Italy, strictly so called, that is, the seven provinces that constituted the Italic diocese." Cave, 112.

[o] Of prelates thus distinguished, "there were none at the time of the Nicene Council, the chief church governors then being the metropolitans." (Ibid. 141.) "Because some of these metropoles were cities of far greater eminency and account than others, as Rome, Alexandria, &c.; therefore the bishops of them were, in the East especially, honoured with the title of Patriarchs, differing at first from other primates, not so much in power as in dignity and honour, they were *diversorum nominum, sed ejusdem officii*, as Gratian notes. That this title of Patriarch was borrowed from the Jews, there can be no doubt." (Ibid. 150.) The title of Pope, now borne exclusively by the patriarch of Rome, was anciently the designation of every bishop. Bingham, I. 23.

[p] Cave, 143.

Roman bishop was allowed to take the precedence, because his see was fixed in the ancient capital of the empire [q]. It is, however, sufficiently evident that his legal powers were not increased by this arrangement: for even the prelates of the Italic diocese long refused to admit his interference [r]. A similar spirit of independence was manifested by the bishops beyond the Alps [s]. Still, the patriarchal dignity was an important advantage to a powerful and opulent prelate, whose master resided at a distance; and it appeared in the sequel, that it was an advantage which had fallen into hands eminently able, and ever on the watch to improve it.

It was not, indeed, long after the departure of the imperial court for its eastern seat, before Italy was again dignified by the presence of her sovereign. In the year 364, the two brothers, Valentinian and Valens, divided the Roman empire between them. To the former of these fell the western portion; but the reasons which had rendered Milan the seat of government during the late reigns still continuing to operate, he established his residence in that city [t]. In the year

[q] Zonar. Hist. III. 8. (Basil, 1557.) At the council of Chalcedon, holden in 451, one of the decrees passed contains the following words: "The reason why the fathers conferred such privileges upon the see of old Rome, was, that it was the imperial city." Cave, 175.

[r] See this exemplified by Cave in the cases of Milan, (206.) Aquileia, (210.) and Ravenna, (214.)

[s] Cave, 218. et seq.

[t] Gibbon, II. 245.

404, the feeble Honorius, who shared the empire with his brother Arcadius, intent solely upon his personal security, transferred the imperial court of the western empire to Ravenna; a place which, being seated among marshes difficult to be passed, offered a safe asylum from the attacks of the northern barbarians. This strong position henceforth became the official metropolis of Italy; and until the middle of the eighth century, when the Greek emperors entirely lost their footing in that country, Ravenna was constantly the residence either of an exarch or a sovereign [w]. Thus Rome was left, during the period of her subjection to the Constantinopolitan throne, with no inhabitant more distinguished than her bishop; and her citizens moreover found in this ecclesiastic their best protection against the predatory warriors by whom Italy was overrun. The barbarians of the north having embraced Christianity, naturally respected the most dignified minister of their religion; and, becoming sensible of the Roman bishop's influence over the people committed to his spiritual guidance, the invading chieftains were also anxious, upon political grounds, to cultivate his friendship [x]. While so many circumstances concurred to consolidate the greatness of the Papal see, its prelates were irritated and alarmed by the strides towards an universal primacy, made under imperial patronage by the patriarchs of Constantinople. These seeming ad-

[w] Gibbon, IV. 53. [x] Mosheim, II. 29.

vantages, however, gained by their great eastern rival, did, in the end, only serve to extend the influence of the Roman bishops. For the Constantinopolitan prelates having obtained the precedence over the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria, these latter implored the papal aid for the vindication of their rights; and thus was the Roman see invited to interfere without the limits of its ancient jurisdiction [y]. However, the bishops of the new metropolis continued their encroachments; and in the year 589, in a synod convened at Constantinople, John, patriarch of that see, surnamed, on account of his extraordinary austerity, the Faster, obtained for himself and his successors, the title of œcumenical, or universal bishop [z]. The news of this designation drew from Pelagius, the Roman prelate, an angry medley of menace and invective; and his successor, Gregory the Great, who had been his agent at the Constantinopolitan synod, pronounced that any bishop who should adopt the designation of universal, was unquestionably the precursor of Antichrist [a]. Notwithstanding Gregory's denunciation, that prelate, there is good reason for believing, had not gone to his grave more than about twelve months, before Boniface III. gladly ac-

[y] Mosheim, II. 28.

[z] "With respect, probably, to that city being the head seat of the empire, which was usually styled *Orbis Romanus*, and ἡ οἰκουμένη." Cave, Ch. Gov. 299.

[a] Greg. Oper. lib. vi. epist. 30. cited by Mr. Faber. Dissertation on the Prophecies, III. 282. Lond. 1818.

cepted from the sanguinary tyrant Phocas [b], who had quarrelled with the patriarch of Constantinople, the very title which had lately, when assumed by a rival, been deemed so impious and presumptuous at Rome [c]. This Antichristian privilege, as a recent pope had designated it, appears to have been thus acquired by the Roman see in the year 606 [d], an epoch which has attracted a good deal

[b] "He was angry, fierce, bloody, ill-natured, debauched, and unmeasurably given to wine and women; so bad, that when a devout monk of that time oft expostulated with God in prayer, why he had made him emperor, he was answered by a voice from heaven, 'Because I could not find a worse.' This man, taking the opportunity of the soldiers mutinying, murdered the emperor, and possessed his throne, which he filled with blood, and the most savage barbarities." Cave, Ch. Gov. 323.

[c] "Now that title that had so lately been new, vain, proud, foolish, profane, wicked, hypocritical, presumptuous, perverse, blasphemous, devilish, and antichristian, became in a moment not only warrantable, but holy and laudable, being sanctified by the apostolic see." Ibid. 327.

[d] "Anno Christi 606, indictione nona, decimo quinto calendas martias, ex diacono pontifex Romanus creatus est Bonifacius, ejus nominis tertius. Quo tempore intercesserunt quædam odiorum fomenta inter eundem Phocam imperatorem atque Cyriacum patriarcham Constantinopolitanum. Hinc igitur in Cyriacum Phocas exacerbatus in ejus odium imperiali edicto sancivit, nomen *universalis* decere Romanam tantummodo ecclesiam, tanquam quæ caput esset omnium ecclesiarum, solique convenire Romano pontifici, non autem episcopo Constantinopolitano qui sibi illud usurpare præsumerat." (Baron. Annal. A.D. 606, cited by Mr. Faber, on the Prophecies, I. 275.) The authorities assigned by Baronius for this statement are, according to Mr. Faber, "Anastasius and Paulus Diaconus, the former of whom flourished in the ninth, and the latter in the eighth century." To these, Archbishop Usher adds other authorities in

of attention as being that in which, it is generally supposed, the Papacy obtained what must be considered as a legal claim to the primacy of the whole Roman empire as then existing.

While the bishops of the ancient capital were dexterously availing themselves of every political event likely to augment the grandeur of their see, they acquired for themselves a high degree of popularity, by gradually giving such a form to the offices of religion, as is calculated to captivate the heart of man. Under their guidance, the Roman Church, after no long interval from Constantine's conversion, assumed the least offensive features of the Paganism which she had superseded. The places appropriated to public worship were once more decorated by visible objects, which all men treated with reverence, and which the vulgar esteemed worthy of religious honours: the cross [c],

his work, " De Christ. Eccl. Success. et Statu." 18 : and as the Roman bishops are known to have borne the title of Universal in the following century, it is not probable that they assumed that designation much later than the time assigned to the alleged grant of Phocas. Upon the whole, therefore, there are satisfactory reasons for acquiescing in the statement which Baronius has adopted.

Perhaps it is not unworthy of remark, that an excavation recently made around the base of a column in Rome, which the antiquaries had long been at a loss to appropriate, has brought to light an inscription, shewing that, to the honour of the tyrant Phocas, the column in question was dedicated.

[c] " When crosses came first to be set in churches, is not easy to be determined. That they were not in use for the three first ages, seems evident enough from the silence of all the writers of those times, and from Eusebius, who has frequent occasion to

images of the saints[f], honoured tombs of mar-

describe minutely the churches of Constantine and others, but never once mentions a cross erected in them, though he speaks frequently of crosses set up in other public places, as a learned writer (Dallæus de Cult. Relig. l. 5. c. 8. p. 773.) has judiciously observed out of him, who thinks they began not to be set up in churches till after the year 340." (Bingham, Christ. Antiq. I. 304.) It is evident from Minucius Felix, who probably wrote in the third century, that, in his days, Christians paid no honour to crosses. "Cruces etiam nec colimus, nec optamus." Min. Fel. Lugd. Bat. 1672, p. 284.

[f] It appears that Minucius Felix knew nothing of images in churches: the Pagan objector in his work is made to ask respecting the Christians, "Cur nulla nota simulacra habent?" (p. 92.) In the course of the pious and rational replies given by the author to this, among the other objections brought forward, is the following account of the principle upon which the Heathens originally placed images in their temples: "Dum reges suos colunt religiose, dum defunctos eos desiderant in imaginibus videre, dum gestiunt eorum memorias in statuis detinere, *sacra facta sunt quæ fuerunt adsumpta solatia.*" (p. 157.) This is undoubtedly the origin of Pagan idolatry. The more enlightened heathens admitted, that their gods had once been men; they were, in fact, the members of that highly-favoured family, which, under Divine protection, had ridden securely in the ark, during the awful period of the universal deluge. That their descendants should revere their memories, erect statues in their honour, and even desire their prayers after their removal from the earth, was natural. The indulgence, however, of these feelings led to all the delusions and abominations of Paganism. Similar feelings led, in an age subsequent to that of Minucius, to the erection of images in Christian churches. The superstitious, or it might even be the pious, clung to the memory, and hoped for the prayers of that "noble army of martyrs," which attests the triumphs of the Gospel. But commemorative figures, once introduced, soon received the worship of the vulgar; and an anxious desire for the prayers of

tyrs[g], met the eyes of those who entered the churches, and relieved their minds from the apprehension of encountering a service purely spiritual. During the divine offices, their nostrils were saluted, as in Pagan times, by the grateful odour of incense[h], gay processions, and joyous

departed worthies, led, by an easy transition, to direct supplications addressed to them. The precise period at which symbolical objects were admitted into churches, cannot probably be ascertained. Dr. Cave says, that there is not "any one just and good authority to prove, that images were either worshipped or used in churches for near upon four hundred years after Christ." (Primitive Christianity, 146. Lond. 1678.) However, pictures appear to have found their way into churches at an earlier date; for at the council holden at Illiberis, in Spain, about the year 305, (Du Pin, Hist. de l'Egl. en abr. II. 207.) one of the canons provided, that "no pictures ought to be in the church, nor that any thing that is worshipped and adored should be painted upon the walls." (Cave, Prim. Chr. 147.) "The use, and even the worship of images, was firmly established before the end of the sixth century." Gibbon, Decl. and Fall, VI. 174.

[g] In the fourth century churches were commonly built upon spots in which a martyr had been buried; or when such a spot was in a solitary place, the martyr's remains were transferred to a neighbouring town, and there a church was built over them. These remains were not, however, placed above-ground until the tenth century; nor did they receive any devotional honours until after the time of St. Austin, (Bingham, Chr. Antiq. II. 451.) who died in 430. (Dr. Rees's Cyclopædia, art. Aug.) Real or pretended relics of martyrs were, however, religiously preserved by superstitious individuals before St. Austin's time. (Bingham, II. 450.)

[h] "There are no footsteps of (censers and incense) in the three first ages of the church." From Evagrius we learn, that "golden censers, as well as golden crosses, were given by Chosroes to the church at Constantinople. By which we may guess

holidays, rendered the profession of their religion an agreeable relaxation from the toil of business, or the monotony of idleness. But while Christians were exhibiting these marks of a conformity with the usages of their heathen ancestors, the enemies of their faith looked on with scorn, and charged them with a gross dereliction of their avowed principles. Not only did the despised race of Israel heap these reproaches upon the followers of Jesus, but also the disciples of Mahomet, who were every day becoming more numerous and powerful, loudly declared, that those who professed to trust in the Gospel had shamefully departed from its purity[i]. This increasing load of obloquy induced some of the eastern divines to consider the nature of image-worship, about the beginning of the eighth century; and, in consequence of their representations, an imperial edict[k] ordered the removal of the venerated figures from the churches. The execution of this edict was violently resisted, especially in Rome; and it was reserved for the dauntless spirit of another emperor, Leo the Isaurian, to insist upon the

that crosses and censers were the product of one and the same age, and came into the church together." (Bingham, I. 306.) It appears, therefore, that we must look for the introduction of incense among Christians exactly when we might reasonably expect to find it, immediately after great numbers of men, Pagans both in heart and habits, followed the example set to them in the highest quarter, and became members of the visible church.

[i] Mosheim, II. 261.

[k] Issued by Philippicus Bardanes, in 712. Ibid. 260.

observance of an order so agreeable to the recorded Word of God, but so distasteful to the bulk of the people. However, Leo's hostility to their favourite images, occasioned the revolt of his Italian subjects, who, encouraged by the Roman bishop, Gregory II. threw off the yoke of an Iconclast emperor [l]; nor ever again did the exarchate of Ravenna own a regular obedience to the Constantinopolitan throne. By means of this successful rebellion Rome became free, and she willingly consented to entrust with the chief direction of her affairs, those prelates long her most distinguished inhabitants, who had shewn themselves so able to interfere in political affairs with success, and whose professional influence was embarked in the maintenance of a religious system dear to the affections and prejudices of the people. However, Leo's son, Constantine, upon whom, in derision, the friends of image-worship bestowed the nick-name of Copronymus [m], un-

[l] Zonaras says, "that Gregory did not excommunicate and renounce his sovereign before he had often endeavoured, by means of letters, to turn him from his *hatred of God*, and to persuade him to change his mind as to worshipping images; but it appeared that he was merely attempting to wash a blackamoor white." III. 86.

[m] Or, *Foul-the-font*, from an accident said to have happened at his baptism. Zonaras, punning upon the father's name Leo, says, that "the whelp was more savage than his parent." (83.) It should be observed, that the dirty trifle recorded of Constantine, was probably connected with his name, merely from some image-worshipper's vulgar malice; for although he was baptized in the great church at Constantinople, Zonaras only ventures to introduce the contemptible tale with λέγεται.

deterred by the difficulties which his father had encountered, resolutely proceeded in the work of purging the churches from objects which had brought so much discredit upon the Christian profession. But he acted with greater caution than the late emperor. In 754 he assembled a council at Constantinople, in which not only the worship, but also the use of images, was solemnly condemned[n]. More than twenty years, however, before, Gregory III. had convened a council at Rome, in which these objects of popular veneration were pronounced entitled to the respect of every man who was not accursed[o]; and Gregory's successor did not choose to abandon a principle so fascinating to human nature, at the bidding of the Constantinopolitan fathers. An opportunity of rescinding this obnoxious decree was afforded by the ambitious and profligate Irene's accession to the regency of the Greek empire. This unprincipled female, being anxious to consolidate her own power during her son's minority, formed a close alliance with the rebellious see of Rome; and, in concert with its bishop, Adrian I. assem-

[n] Zonaras admits, that many bishops were present at this council, but says that they were unholy men; and he seems not at all inclined to consider it as œcumenical, nor will he admit that any thing was done in it except according to the emperor's pleasure. There were, in fact, 338 bishops at this council. Du Pin, II. 540.

[o] Usser. de Christian. Eccles. Successione et Statu. Lond. 1687, p. 50.

bled the second council of Nice in the year 787 [p]. This assembly rendered important services to the papacy. It recognised the title of universal bishop as belonging to the occupant of the Roman see [q]; it admitted the authority of what is called apostolical tradition, in matters of faith [r]; it established the right of images to an inferior kind of worship; it allowed the intercession of saints; it approved the burning of incense, and the lighting of tapers, before images; it annulled all elections of bishops or priests made by princes; it ordered that no church should be consecrated unless relics were placed in it; it ranked all works against image-worship among heretical books [s]. These decisions, however, encountered a violent opposition in the Christian world. The illustrious Charlemagne, who then occupied the throne of France, took the lead in the attacks made upon

[p] Du Pin, Histoire de l'Eglise en Abrégé. Paris, 1726, II. 541.

[q] Faber on the Prophecies, I. 276, note. Du Pin says, that the papal legates took precedence, at this council, of Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople. "In εἰκονοδουλείᾳ sancienda conspiratione facta, post longam de primatu concertationem, *facti sunt amici inter sese Pilatus et Herodes:* et illud usurpari cœptum, ut ambo episcopi, Romanus scilicet et Constantinopolitanus, Œcumenici et Universales appellarentur; hic quidem Universalis Patriarcha, ille vero Universalis Papa. Solo Romano pontifice Papæ nomen, quod ante omnibus commune erat episcopis, retinente." Usser. de Success. 50.

[r] "As being a necessary principle to support the worship of images." Allix on the Churches of the Albigenses. Oxf. 1821. p. 91.

[s] Du Pin, II. 542.

the deutero-Nicene fathers. He caused a work, in four books, to be published in his name, hence called the Caroline books, for the purpose of shewing that the veneration of images is unauthorised, and likely to bring about intolerable evils. This work, being presented to the Roman bishop, drew from that prelate a reply; but his arguments went for nothing beyond the Alps. A council was holden at Francfort on the Maine, in 794, at which the honours paid to images were unanimously condemned [1].

The Roman bishops having firmly established themselves in the hearts of the people around them, by declaring that the veneration of images, though, from some unassigned cause, not encouraged by even the slightest hint in the New Testament, is undoubtedly of Apostolical institution; omitted nothing which appeared likely to secure them in their new position. Gregory II. had been fortified in his spirit of opposition to the Iconclast Leo, by his vicinity to Luitprand, king of the Lombards, a prince who ruled with ability all the north of Italy, who revered images, and who readily undertook to support their cause by marching his forces into the exarchate of Ravenna. The Lombard's object in this movement was not, however, the mere protection of the images and their admirers: he had also an eye

[1] Du Pin, II. 547. From Mosheim we learn, that this council of Francfort, so honourable to Charlemagne, and to the West, was attended by three hundred bishops, and that their reprobation of images was unanimous. Eccl. Hist. II. 267.

towards the transfer of the Romans and the other Italians subjected to the Greeks, to his own more orthodox government. But nothing was farther from the wishes of Gregory III. who had succeeded to the papal chair, than to exchange a master at a distance, for one enthroned in the heart of Italy. Accordingly, when he found that the zealous Lombard was equally determined to establish the images upon their pedestals, and himself in the sovereignty of Rome; Gregory's loyalty revived, and he pressed upon the people the duty of remaining firm in their allegiance to their ancient princes, the Constantinopolitan emperors. These monarchs, however, were not then in a condition to render any effective aid to their now dutiful subjects, and Gregory saw plainly, that unless relief could be obtained from some other quarter, the Roman bishop must at last inevitably become no more than the most dignified ecclesiastic in the Lombardic kingdom [u].

Under the pressure of this mortifying anticipation, Gregory wrote urgent letters to Charles Martel, who ruled the Franks with a sort of delegated authority, and who had acquired immense renown by checking, in a decisive engagement, the design of overrunning Europe entertained by the Saracens. This illustrious captain was solicited to accept the Italian dominions lately possessed by the Greeks, and was intreated to suc-

[u] Rise and Progress of the Papal Power, from the French of the Abbé Vertot. Lond. 1737. p. 10.

cour the Roman see, "lest St. Peter should hereafter refuse to let him pass through the portals of heaven [x]." Charles so far noticed these overtures as to persuade Luitprand, his ally, to suspend farther operations against the Romans, and that prince, during the short remains of his life, occasioned but little more uneasiness in the ancient capital of the West. However, in the same year, 741, death removed from the world's transient and troubled scene, the Isaurian Leo, Charles Martel, and Gregory, the Roman bishop. Zachary succeeded the last, and as the Lombards again assumed a posture of offence, he found himself interested in rendering more intimate his predecessor's connection with the court of France. In that country Pepin the Short had inherited the power of his father, Charles Martel. These distinguished persons, known as Mayors of the Palace [y], possessed all the substantials of royalty, but Pepin sighed for its name; and he reasoned, that under the Roman bishop's advice, which was highly respected throughout the West, he might venture to despoil the helpless descendant of Clovis, of that wreck of ancestorial greatness which still lingered about his person. Accordingly, an embassy was sent to Rome, in the name of the French nation, which desired the opinions of the learned there, as to whether the Franks

[x] Vertot, 14.

[y] Originally domestic officers, now "become ministers of the nation, and masters of the prince." Gibbon, ch. 52.

might, with a safe conscience, violate their engagement to such an useless phantom of royalty as Childeric their king, in favour of an able and active officer, who really governed the nation*? The question was answered in the affirmative; and Pepin, armed with the opinion of the Roman casuists, accepted the crown which was tendered to him at an assembly of the states of France, holden at Soissons, in 751. It soon became his turn to requite the services for which he was indebted to the Roman see. Astolpho was now on the throne of Lombardy, and he renewed the designs of his predecessors upon Rome. Stephen II., who had succeeded to the papal chair, and to the policy of former bishops, finding his hopes of temporal power in a very precarious state, then resolved to negociate with Pepin in person. He accordingly travelled into France, where he was received with great distinction, and visited, as he declared, by St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Denis, and some celestial attendants, whose dress and manners he described with great minuteness, and who desired him to build an altar in the church dedicated to the saint last mentioned. The order was punctually obeyed, and on the day in which the new altar was consecrated, Stephen crowned upon it anew Pepin and his queen: he also

* "It was the custom in that age to consult the popes, not only in regard to the pre-eminence of their see, but because the clergy of Rome passed for the most learned, and the best read in the laws of the church; and in this grand affair the pope was considered as the greatest casuist in the Christian world." Vertot. 16.

crowned the king's two sons, and he even ventured to thunder out an excommunication against any who should presume to disturb the succession as thus established [a]. These were very grateful boons to the reigning family, for Pepin had an elder brother, now in a monastery, but the father of sons, who might fairly challenge as good a right to the throne as their more fortunate cousins. In return for these services, Pepin marched an army into Italy, and besieging Astolpho in Pavia, his capital, extorted from him a promise to put Stephen in possession of the Exarchate. Upon this concession the French hastily withdrew, being anxious to pass the Alps before the snows of winter should shut them in. Astolpho, thus relieved from a formidable invasion, moved his forces, soon after the departure of the enemy, upon Rome, invested that city, and insisted that the bishop, as the author of his late disgrace, should be delivered into his hands. The Romans, however, gallantly kept their assailants at bay, and Stephen despatched earnest entreaties for succour to his French allies. He conjured Pepin "in the name of God, by the glorified Virgin, by St. Peter, who made him king, to accomplish the great work for which he was predestinated, to which he was called, and through which he would be justified [b]." As immediate attention was not

[a] Vertot. 28.

[b] "In this manner did the pope apply the awful mysteries of grace and predestination to the advancement of his temporal power." Ibid. 32.

paid to this application, it was soon followed by another. This was a paper picked up somewhere in Rome, and thought to have dropped from the clouds; it was an epistle addressed to the king, the royal family, the nobles, the people, and the armies of France; all of whom were admonished, if they wished to escape from eternal fire, to relieve Rome without delay. St. Peter's name was affixed to this production, and it was considered to be in that Apostle's hand-writing [c], reasons sufficient to conduct Pepin into Italy, at the head of such an army as forced Astolpho to fulfil the treaty which he had made in the former year. Rome, with the surrounding territories, were then made over to her bishop to hold as a fief from the French crown [d], and the victorious Pepin returned into his own dominions.

The Lombards being thus again left to themselves, evaded, under different pretexts, the complete fulfilment of their engagements; and when Charlemagne succeeded to the throne of his father Pepin, he was earnestly conjured to follow that monarch's example in protecting the Roman see. Having, however, formed an alliance with the king of Lombardy, and even married into his family [e], a considerable time elapsed before the

[c] "It would be hard to believe that this pontiff could have carried artifice and fiction to so great a height, if his letters were not still extant." Vertot. 33.

[d] Ibid. 34.

[e] Stephen III., bishop of Rome, "represented this alliance as the work of the devil, and the Lombards, as a nation, con-

mighty sovereign of France could be induced to co-operate in the plans of papal policy. At length, however, Charlemagne finding in the Lombards a serious obstacle to the prosecution of his own designs, crossed the Alps with an overwhelming force, and overthrew their kingdom[f]. He then confirmed and augmented his father's benefactions to the Roman see, but he was careful to preserve its bishops in strict subserviency to his own sovereign authority[g], as king of Italy and patrician of Rome; dignities which he formally assumed before his departure for France. In a subsequent visit to his Italian territories he was saluted by the grateful Romans and their bishop, Emperor of the West[h]; and thus in his person were revived the pretensions of the ancient Cæsars. However, neither he nor any of his successors, whether French or German, made the former capital the seat of imperial dominion. That interesting and

temptible, perfidious, infected with the leprosy, and unworthy of the alliance of the noble and illustrious house of France. He added, by wresting the sense of the Scriptures to his own views, that, by the law of God, all alliances of marriage with strangers were prohibited; which was true with regard to the Jewish people, and the unbelieving idolatrous nations, but could never be applicable to Christian princes, with whom, such alliances, on the contrary, serve for the support of peace." Vertot. 38.

[f] In 774. (Ibid. 46.) the Lombards, "towards the end of the sixth century, possessed themselves of that part of Italy extending from the Alps to Tuscany inclusively." Ibid. 3.

[g] "His officers repealed the particular decrees made by the popes with regard to their vassals." Ibid. 47.

[h] On Christmas day, 800. Ibid. 49.

venerable city was still confided to the government of her bishop, now become the most dignified feudatory of the restored empire, with a benefice extending over the regions once ruled by the Grecian exarchs. Thus the services which it had rendered to the Carlovingian race of kings obtained for the papal see an ample endowment of temporal power; and its bishops were henceforth enabled to dazzle the numerous visitants who came from all parts of the West to the seven celebrated hills, not only by the spectacle of greater refinement and more imposing religious solemnities than were elsewhere to be seen, but also by the fascinating display of princely magnificence.

The bishops of Rome thus become feudatory sovereigns, were aided in their plan of subjecting all the western churches to their own, by the political constitution of the states around them. The Gothic soldiers of fortune, who obtained, by means of military violence, the fruits of other men's peaceful industry, would not allow to their leaders any thing more than the best share of the spoils, and the first place in their deliberative assemblies. Monarchies indeed, nominally, were founded, but they bore very little resemblance, either to the Roman government which they superseded, or to those oriental despotisms which have subsisted from the earliest periods. In truth, the European states, during the middle ages, were rather aristocratic than kingly. The

unwarlike population, which sank under the northern irruptions, was reduced to the condition of villanage, and the fierce invaders became a body of nobles, who never forgot that to their swords, or to those of their ancestors, the king was indebted for his throne, as well as themselves for their estates. He obtained his elevation merely as the ablest or the most distinguished member of a martial confederacy, and in that condition his companions in arms, and their descendants, were determined to retain him. A sovereign, whose prerogatives and resources were so strictly limited, found himself unable to adopt any vigorous system of policy, either foreign or domestic: he could not even, without considerable difficulty, maintain his superiority over the haughty nobles. Princes placed in such a situation could hardly fail, if it were merely for the sake of their own ease, to struggle for the enlargement of their narrow privileges. Nor, on the other hand, as all men are tenacious of their possessions, would the great vassals of a feudal king ever cease to resist his encroachments upon their acquired or hereditary franchises. Such, accordingly, is the picture presented by the Gothic nations of Europe during the whole course of the middle ages. On one side, the prince ever upon the watch to acquire an effective ascendancy in the state, on the other, a nobility equally alive to the maintenance of its cherished rights. Nothing is more evident than the political weakness of

communities agitated by the constant assertion of such irreconcilable pretensions [1].

While, however, the feudal monarchies around it were a prey to disunion and turbulence, the papacy, organised upon principles widely different, was ever acquiring wealth and power. The Roman bishop was constrained to admit no embarrassing pretensions on the part of those most nearly approaching him. He was considered as the successor of St. Peter, an apostle to whom was committed, according to the opinion which gradually prevailed in the West, an authority over his brethren, and the privilege of regulating the flock of Christ; exalted prerogatives, which, it was said, had descended to those who occupied his chair. Such assertions, urged with boldness, ability, and perseverance, in any age, would be implicitly received by a considerable number of men: in a period of ignorance and intellectual grossness, coming too, as they did, from the great seat of learning, refinement, and reputed sanctity, they could not fail of making a powerful impression upon the public mind. That impression received no inconsiderable aid by the policy, in matters deemed religious, adopted by the Church of Rome. Her exertions were not limited to the rooting in the heart of man of those pure and spiritual, those sublime yet severe truths, which the Gospel offers to reluctant human na-

[1] See this subject illustrated in Dr. Robertson's "View of the State of Europe," prefixed to his History of Charles V.

ture, as the foundation of all the dignity for which it can hope on earth, all the happiness which it can expect in heaven: on the contrary, she invested relics and other trifles with a superstitious importance; she encouraged those who entered the temples of the "living God" to venerate the perishable and senseless, yet gaudy and seducing products of man's ingenuity; she fed the morbid flame of gloomy fanaticism by extolling needless privations, self-inflicted torments, and unnatural restraints. Thus were the Roman bishops placed at the head of a Church, in which the trifler, the idolater, and the ascetic, found every thing that he could desire. It is no wonder that the influence of such prelates should rapidly extend in an unenquiring age. Its extension also was powerfully aided by the sanction of their authority, which they readily yielded to every political enterprise likely to augment the grandeur of their see. The perpetual occurrence of such opportunities for their interference, at length, rendered them in effect the most powerful potentates in Europe. Nor, when any prince ventured to dispute their authority, did the thraldom, in which he was retained by his own nobility, allow him to come off victorious in the contest. Hence, eventually, the fulminations of the Roman bishop were a species of warfare more to be dreaded by a Gothic sovereign than any other. Some of his great feudatories were always ready, if it were only for the sake of exalting themselves, to render effective these terrible denunciations. Thus, while the

palpable defects of their constitutions retained the western kingdoms in a state of feebleness, the papacy, by the judicious, the unceasing, and the unfettered prosecution of its obvious policy, was gradually enabled to enslave the great majority of men within the reach of its influence, from the peasant to the prince.

If, however, the clergy of the West had possessed the resolution and the means to withstand resolutely and perseveringly the papal encroachments, the new race of sovereigns which had arisen at Rome must have failed in their attempts to render that capital once more the seat of empire. But many circumstances concurred to overcome or paralyse the opposition of the ecclesiastics to the ambitious views of the papacy. The Roman bishop was the most powerful, dignified, and opulent member of the clerical profession; his court was the principal seat of such knowledge and civilization as the ruder ages afforded; the place of his residence was revered throughout the West as the scene of apostolic and saintly martyrdoms, no small recommendation to any spot in the apprehension of superstitious minds; his policy invariably tended towards the securing to the priesthood of wealth and immunities; his authority sanctioned such pilgrimages, penances, rites, ceremonies, and visible objects of devotion, as enlarge sacerdotal influence by captivating weak and vulgar minds. It is too much to expect of any very numerous body, especially in a gross and illiterate age, that even the generality of its mem-

bers should not be biassed by such considerations as these. Still, however, it is probable, that an aequaintance with Holy Writ, or even patriotic feelings and the love of their own independence, would have restrained the western clergy from acknowledging, as they did eventually, almost in a mass, the superiority of a foreign prelate, had not the fanaticism of an ignorant period given rise to monkery, and caused it to pass for the perfection of Christian living. Cloistered ascetics were the workmen who, under papal superintendence, reared the Roman colossus. No sooner was monkery moulded into an effective form, than the Roman bishops took it under their especial protection. They never did any thing that shewed their discernment more clearly. All monastic communities are subject to a superior, all the superiors of every region to a provincial, residing among them, all the provincials to a general, residing at Rome. Thus, in fact, through the agency of monks, the Roman bishops were able to act upon society by means of organised confederacies, the ramifications of which extended into every corner of the West, and which received every impulse of importance directly from the supposed successor of St. Peter. In favour of monastic devotees, the tide of popular prejudice set strongly in during the middle ages; and the consequence necessarily was, that the Benedictines succeeded in establishing themselves throughout the western regions. In their rear followed the influence of the Papacy; against which, nei-

ther clergy nor laity could now successfully contend. Within the cloister most individuals found, at one period or other of their lives, something to feed their prejudices, or calm their feelings; and hence, no sooner were countries thickly planted with conventual establishments, than no rank or station was long able to escape from that abject vassalage, which the Roman see claimed the right of imposing upon all mankind.

The operation of these powerful causes was greatly aided by the political troubles which overwhelmed the West in the age succeeding that of Charlemagne. That able sovereign had not only governed his ample territories with a vigorous and enlightened sway; he had also restrained effectually the incursions of those Norman pirates who were anxious to plunder, or to colonise regions more favoured by nature than their own [k]. The descendants of Charlemagne, however, proved unable to protect their miserable subjects from the storm which had long been gathering in the north, and the successful inroads of fierce barbarians, joined to contests for the supreme power which agitated the jarring members of the imperial family, before the end of the ninth century filled the south-west of Europe with bloodshed and confusion. The dissensions among their princes threw a vast weight of influence into the hands of the Roman bishops, who now were not only excused from waiting, on their election, for

[k] Mosheim, II. 283.

the imperial approbation[l], but even interfered in the election of emperors, and claimed rights over the Catholic Church more extensive than any that they had hitherto advanced. As, however, some ecclesiastics of information and independence could hardly fail of disputing these novel claims, an impudent forgery was produced in order to silence such an opposition. A volume appeared under papal patronage, known in the annals of infamy as the "Decretals," and which, if genuine, would have proved incontestibly that the pretensions of the Roman bishops were derived from the venerable periods of apostolical antiquity[m]. Never was the time more favourable than the close of the ninth century for the production of such documents. Political troubles daily contracted the circle of sound knowledge and manly intelligence; so that Europe contained, after no great lapse of time, very few individuals who could value or discern the truth. In the next century were seen the full effects of the intellectual eclipse which overshadowed the empire of Charlemagne, towards the conclusion of the preceding age. A thick, an almost palpable darkness, brooded over the West, during the tenth century[n], the Roman

[l] By Charles the Bald, who "having obtained the imperial dignity by the good offices of the bishop of Rome, returned this eminent service by delivering the succeeding pontiffs from the obligation of waiting for the consent of the emperors." Mosheim, II. 299.

[m] Ibid. 305.

[n] "En (inquit Baronius) incipit annus Redemptoris nongen-

bishops were profligate above measure[o], the mass of men were sunk in the most grovelling superstition, or in the most daring profaneness. The few individuals of piety and discernment whose light feebly glimmered amidst the gloom of their age, were possessed by an idea that the evil times in which their lot was cast, were the sure indications of approaching Antichrist, and of the final consummation of all things[p]. These mournful anticipations were strengthened by accounts of numerous celestial portents, which were every where circulated; and, as might be expected in such an age, were every where believed. The year one thousand was supposed to be that epoch at which, according to St. John, Satan was to be

tesimus, quo et novum inchoatur seculum, quod sui asperitate, ac boni sterilitate, ferreum, malique exundantis deformitate, plumbeum, atque inopia scriptorum appellari consuevit, obscurum." (Usser. de Success. 32.) " La plûpart des auteurs qui ont parlé du dixiéme siécle, le représentent comme un siécle de ténébres, d'ignorance, d'obscurité, de désordres, et de dérégle-mens." Du Pin, Hist. de l'Egl. en abr. III. 93.

[o] " Sic vero Baronius, faciem luridam Romanæ Ecclesiæ describit: Quæ tunc facies sanctæ Ecclesiæ Romanæ? quam fœdissima, cum Romæ dominarentur potentissimæ æque ac sordidissimæ meretrices? quarum arbitrio mutarentur sedes, darentur episcopi, et quod auditu horrendum et infandum est, intruderentur in sedem Petri eorum amasii pseudo-pontifices." Usser. de Success. 32.

[p] " Abbo Floriacensis ita scripsit: de fine mundi coram populo sermonem in ecclesia Parisiorum adolescentulus audivi, quod statim, finito mille annorum numero, Antichristus advenitur, et non longo post tempore universale judicium succederet." Ibid. 36.

loosed, and was to have the power of desolating the church of Christ[q]. This opinion, long current among speculators upon religious subjects, was subsequently adopted by Wickliffe, and after him by other reformers. They maintained that the darkness of the tenth century had prepared the way for the revelation, in the millenary year, of Antichrist; an agent of infernal malice, whom they identified with the Papacy after it had formally assumed the great characteristics which distinguish the sect under its controul, from those Christians who derive their religion from Scripture alone. Of these characteristics, Wickliffe considered transubstantiation as the chief, and he asserted, that, that doctrine did not prevail in the world until after the year one thousand[r]. In this opinion he was followed by many of the reformers, both in England and on the continent: nor indeed does it appear, that before the eleventh century, the Roman church deemed this doctrine worthy of her particular attention. She then, by condemning Berenger, authentically committed herself as to the truth of that dogma, which has excited so much opposition, and which has furnished the pretence for shedding such a deluge of human blood. Other peculiarities of Romanism also seem first to have attracted notice during the

[q] Revel. xx. 2, 3.

[r] "In tractatu de blasphemia, veram de Eucharistiæ Sacramento doctrinam per mille annos in Ecclesia retentam esse ait (Wiccliffius) ad solutionem usque Satanæ." Usser. de Success. 38.

ages immediately following that of Charlemagne. The feast of All Souls was instituted in the year 998[s], at the suggestion of a monk, who, travelling through Sicily in his way from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, heard there certain doleful sounds, which have ordinarily passed for the effects of subterranean fires raging through the caverns of that volcanic region, but in which the zealous pilgrim recognised the wailings of souls in purgatory[t]. The worship[u] of the Virgin Mary too,

[s] Mosheim, II. 428, note. "This festival was at first celebrated only by the congregation of Clugny; but having afterwards received the approbation of one of the Roman pontiffs, it was, by his order, kept with particular veneration in all the Latin churches." Ibid.

[t] Usser. de Success. 39.

[u] The following extract, from an approved modern book of Romish devotion, (Challoner's Garden of the Soul, Lond. 1824) will probably be thought to justify the term "worship," as used to denote the manner in which Romanists address the Virgin. "A hymn to the blessed Virgin," 297.

"Blest mother of our God,
And ever Virgin Queen,
Hail happy gate of bliss,
Greeted by Gabriel's tongue;
Negociate our peace,
And cancel Eva's wrong.
Loosen the sinner's bands,
All evils drive away;
Bring light unto the blind,
And for all graces pray," &c.

"We fly to thy patronage, O holy mother of God, despise not our petitions in our necessities, but deliver us from all dangers, O ever glorious and blessed Virgin." (Litany of our Lady of Loretto, 298.) This Litany is worthy of Loretto, and of those who may go, or who would wish to go thither on a pilgrimage.

gained ground apace, and her rosary and crown now came into use; two forms of devotion, which consist in a definite number of repetitions of the salutation addressed by the angel Gabriel to that highly-favoured personage [x].

It was reserved for the daring spirit of Hildebrand, a Tuscan mechanic's son, to consolidate the power, which so many concurring circumstances had placed within the reach of the Roman see. This bold adventurer, after spending several years of his life as a monk in the abbey of Clugny, returned, in the suite of a bishop, to Rome, where he had spent his youth, and where he now rapidly acquired wealth and consideration. To Alexander II. he acted as prime minister; and on the very day of that prelate's death, in June 1073, he was chosen to fill the papal chair. The emperor, Henry IV. considering an election so precipitate rather irregular, took some time to consider before he expressed his approbation of Hildebrand's promotion. At last, however, he signified the desired consent; and the new bishop, who assumed the designation of Gregory VII. entered

[x] "The rosary consists in fifteen repetitions of the Lord's prayer, and an hundred and fifty salutations of the blessed Virgin: while the crown, according to the different opinions of the learned concerning the age of the blessed Virgin, consists in six or seven repetitions of the Lord's prayer, and six or seven times ten salutations, or *Ave Marias*." (Mosheim, II. 429.) "The rosary, or beads, is composed of thrice fifty *Aves*. It may be said either all at once, or at thrice, which perhaps will be better, according to the person's devotion and leisure." Garden of the Soul, 313.

upon his memorable career [y]. In the bold undertakings which distinguished his pontificate, his principal support was derived from the Countess Matilda [z], the heiress to territories of great extent, with whom his intercourse was so suspiciously intimate, that he gave to his numerous enemies a colour for charging him with being that princess's paramour [a]. Another source of his political importance was derived from the Normans, who had succeeded in overrunning the modern kingdom of Naples, and with whom he formed an alliance [b]. He also fomented a civil war, of which the imprudences of the emperor's youth had laid the foundations, and which effectually paralysed that monarch's administration [c]. Gregory, being thus secure of proceeding in his designs without interruption, gradually developed the various plans of his adventurous policy. Of these, one dear to his heart, and which was at length realized

[y] Du Pin, III. 165.

[z] "Grand-daughter of Atto, Count of Modena, and the only daughter and heiress of Boniface, Marquess of Tuscany, 1033, one of the most powerful princes in Italy." Halliday's Hist. of the Guelphs, Lond. 1821, p. 29, note.

[a] "Nec evadere potuit (Mathildis) incesti amoris suspicionem; passim jactantibus regis (Henrici) fautoribus, et præcipue clericis, quibus illicita et contra scita canonum contracta conjugia prohibebat, quod die ac nocte impudenter Papa in ejus volutaretur amplexibus." Lambertus Schafnaburgensis, ap. Usser. de Success. 69.

[b] "Armis nortmannorum fretus." Onuphrius in vit. Greg. VII. ap. Usser. de Success. 62.

[c] Du Pin, III. 167.

by his successors, was to emancipate the Roman see from any dependence upon the emperors [d]. He also enlarged and strengthened the temporal power of that see by securing for it from his obsequious female friend, the Countess Matilda, the reversion of her ample Italian dominions [e]. He claimed an ecclesiastical superiority over the whole world; a claim which was soon followed by another to the privilege of interfering in the political concerns of sovereigns, and of deposing them, if the Roman bishop should think proper [f]. This pretension he was enabled to exercise in the case of his unfortunate sovereign, who underwent from this imperious ecclesiastic, indignities which reflect the utmost disgrace upon his memory [g].

[d] Gibbon, IV. 234. [e] Mosheim, II. 498.

[f] "Ce pape porta jusqu'à l'excès les droits du pontificat, car il est le premier qui non seulement se soit voulu rendre souverain sur le spirituel, mais encore sur le temporel; qui ait entrepris d'exercer une domination absolue sur l'Eglise, et sur les royaumes, sur les ecclesiastiques, et sur les seculiers; de disposer des biens et des états des princes; de deposer les empereurs et les rois, et d'en mettre d'autres en leur place." Du Pin, III. 166.

[g] The emperor "passed the Alps amidst the rigour of a severe winter, and arrived, in the month of February, 1077, at the fortress of Canusium, where the sanctimonious pontiff resided at that time with the young Matilda, Countess of Tuscany, the most tender and affectionate of all the spiritual daughters of Gregory. Here the suppliant prince, unmindful of his dignity, stood, during three days, in the open air at the entrance of the fortress, with his feet bare, his head uncovered, and with no other raiment but a wretched piece of coarse woollen cloth thrown over his body to cover his nakedness. The fourth day

Of all Gregory's innovations, however, none excited a warmer opposition than his condemnation of what he called simony, and clerical concubinage. Under both these names were included gross irregularities, which loudly called for repression; and the artful prelate dexterously availed himself of the popular disgust, which such improprieties excited, for the purpose of augmenting the grandeur of his see. The principal ecclesiastical dignities had become needlessly and injuriously rich; a circumstance which rendered them baits for the avaricious, who were eager to purchase them of princes. These latter were equally willing to sell; and thus men were raised to the most elevated preferments, without any regard to their virtues or abilities, but merely on account of their means and disposition to enrich the sovereign's exchequer [h]. In order at once to stop a practice so pregnant with disgrace and mischief to the Church; and to throw the whole ecclesiastical establishment of the West prostrate at the feet of the Roman bishops, Gregory denounced an anathema against any clergyman who should receive the investiture of a bishopric, or abbacy, from a layman [i]. From the Roman see alone all the principal dignitaries were to await confirmation, before they could enter upon the preferments to which they might be nominated;

he was admitted to the presence of the lordly pontiff, who, with a good deal of difficulty, granted him the absolution he demanded." Mosheim, II. 518.

[h] Ibid. 501, note.

[i] Ibid. 507.

and thus the bishops of that see became the supreme ordinaries, and indeed the ultimate patrons of all the great church benefices. The establishment of this pretension enabled Gregory to give a mortal blow to the independence of the ancient Italic diocese[k], which he and his immediate predecessors felt as a grievous thorn in their sides. The archbishop of Milan and his suffragan prelates were now denounced as simoniacs; and the emperor, being unable to protect them, they were reduced to admit the superiority of the Roman church. With respect to clerical concubinage also, Gregory discovered the shrewdness of his intellect. His predecessors had long been labouring to impose upon the clergy of the West, the unauthorised, dangerous, and deceitful yoke of celibacy. The results of their tyrannical craft or folly were, that the bulk of the priesthood treated their injunctions with merited contempt; while hypocrites and profligates made them a pretence for abstaining from marriage, and for keeping mistresses, whom they could dismiss at pleasure[l]. Gregory was not contented with exerting himself for the suppression of this scandal; he also decided, that such clergymen as would not quit their wives, should be thrust out of their benefices[m]. By this master-stroke of policy, he

[k] "Le principal chef d'accusation contre l'empereur, etoit de ce qu'il protegeoit l'archevêque de Milan, et les evêques de Lombardie, que le Pape avoit excommuniez comme simoniaques." Du Pin, III. 168.

[l] Mosheim, II. 501, note. [m] Ibid. 502.

insulated the clergy from the societies to which they naturally belonged, he rendered it probable that clerical accumulations of wealth would generally descend to the church, he assimilated the habits of the ordinary priesthood to those of the monks, a class of agents upon whom his see could certainly depend, and he conciliated for the ecclesiastical body the favourable regards of ignorance and fanaticism, by giving to it the appearance of unusual sanctity and mortification. Gregory, having thus fixed on a firm basis the temporal grandeur of the Roman see, died in the year 1085 [n], after an incumbency of twelve years. The maxims of his policy have been digested under twenty-seven heads, known as the "Hildebrandine Dictates," and said by some of the most zealous friends to the Papacy [o] to have been drawn

[n] Mosheim, II. 521.

[o] "Baronius, Lupus, and other historians, who have signalized upon all occasions their vehement attachment to the Roman pontiffs." (Mosheim, II. 491.) On the other hand, some French critics, labouring to reconcile the pretensions of the Roman Church with those of the Gallican, have maintained that the Hildebrandine Dictates are not genuine. It is not, however, denied, that these maxims are to be found dispersed in Gregory's Epistles, or that they directed his policy. The object of the French writers is, therefore, only to shew, that the Hildebrandine Dictates never received the authentic sanction of the Roman Church. The following are the observations of Du Pin, upon these famous Dictates: "On a mis entre les lettres de Gregoire VII. un ecrit intitulé *Dictatus Papæ*, qui contient 27 propositions en faveur des pretensions les plus outrés de la cour de Rome. On ne peut le lire sans en être scandalisé et entr' autres de celle ci qui est la 23, *que le pontife Romain, ordonné canoniquement, devient*

up by Gregory himself, and even to have been submitted to a certain council. It is at least certain, that these Dictates contain the sentiments and expressions which are to be found in Hildebrand's unquestionable productions. Those articles among them most worthy of notice are the following: "That the Church of Rome was founded by our Lord alone; that the bishop of Rome only has a right to be styled universal bishop; that he alone has the power to deprive bishops, and to decide questions relating to their sees; that he only may use the imperial ornaments; that all princes must kiss his feet; that he may appoint any clerk to any church; that from his sentence there lies no appeal; that the Church of Rome never erred, or will err; that the bishop of Rome, if canonically ordained, is undoubtedly made holy by St. Peter's merits;

indubitablement saint par les merites de St. Pierre. Mais cette piece n'a aucun rapport avec la lettre qui la precede, ni avec celle qui la suit: il n'y a aucune preuve qu'elle ait été faite dans un concile de Rome, comme Baronius le pretend: la plûpart de ces propositions sont conçuës en termes odieux et mal digerez: il n'y a aucune apparence que Gregoire VII. qui ecrivoit assez bien en soit auteur, *c'est plûtot l'ouvrage de quelque ennemi de Gregoire, qui a voulu rendre sa doctrine odieuse en le comprenant dans ces 27 articles:* ou celui de quelque Romain entêté des maximes de la cour de Rome, qui a crû pouvoir tirer ces propositions des lettres de Gregoire VII. et en a fait la recuëil qui a été inseré parmi ses lettres." (Hist. de l'Egl. en abr. III. 181.) These Dictates are inserted at length in Archbishop Usher's work, "De Success." p. 63; and a translation of them may be seen at the close of Dr. Cave's "Discourse upon the Ancient Church Government."

that he has the power to absolve subjects from their allegiance to unjust governors; that no man, unless he agree with the Church of Rome, is to be considered a Catholic."

The Roman Church having formally claimed the right, through Hildebrand, her acknowledged head, and being, from the course of political events, in a condition to acquire the power of domineering over all the Christians of the West, was greatly assisted in the assertion of her pretensions, by a remarkable event in the history of the human mind. The gross intellectual darkness of the tenth century was, in the early part of the eleventh, partially dispelled. Among other branches of learning, which then happily revived, theology received its due share of attention, and it was studied, in the ancient mode, by diligently comparing Scripture with the comments of approved divines[p]. This system, however, towards the middle of the eleventh century, fell into comparative disrepute. The learned Arabians, captivated by the depth and refinements of Aristotle, had long devoted their studious hours to his abstruse speculations; and from the libraries of Saracenic scholars seated in Spain, some pieces of the mighty Stagirite found their way into France[q]. In that country many learned men received these monuments of ancient philosophy with keen delight, and the illustrious Berenger eagerly availed himself of the dialectic arms thus offered to his

[p] Du Pin, III. 198.

[q] Mosheim, II. 465.

use, in order to confute that notion of the corporal presence, which first attracted notice in the ninth century, and which, protected by the darkness of the succeeding age, had now obtained currency among the continental Christians. Lanfranc, the very learned and able monk, who was subsequently appointed archbishop of Canterbury, and who caused the doctrine of transubstantiation to be generally received in England[r], adopted the system of his antagonist, and employed, with great applause, dialectic subtleties in the discussion of theological questions[s]. His example was followed by a host of imitators[t];

[r] Osbern, in his Life of Archbishop Odo, who accepted the monk's cowl and the see of Canterbury in the year 941, says, that this prelate made an attempt to convert certain clerical disbelievers of transubstantiation, by means of the hackneyed miracle of extracting drops of blood from the eucharistic bread after consecration. (Osbern, de vit. Od. ap. Wharton. Angl. Sacr. II. 82, Lond. 1691.) The statement is not improbable. The doctrine, though not the name, of transubstantiation, was making its way through the whole course of the tenth century, and we can hardly doubt that the monks helped it onwards. The Benedictines, therefore, who came into England for the purpose of enrolling Odo among the members of their fraternity, probably brought to their newly-initiated disciple both an acquaintance with the notion, and with the legerdemain which was to confound the incredulity of sceptics as to its truth. The trick, however, if indeed Odo exhibited it, succeeded in its object very partially, or not at all; for it is certain that transubstantiation was not the doctrine of the Anglo-Saxon Church at the beginning of the eleventh century. See Collier, Eccl. Hist. I. 206.

[s] Mosheim, II. 548.

[t] Especially by "Anselm, his disciple, and successor in the see of Canterbury; a man of a truly metaphysical genius, and

and thus the eleventh century, on many accounts so remarkable in the history of the Roman Church, gave rise to that medley of logic, metaphysics, and theology, which has obtained the name of school divinity [u]. To make a proficiency in this abstruse branch of learning, men of scholarly habits and inquisitive minds, bent all their intellectual energies, during nearly four hundred years [x]. Both the geniuses of classical antiquity, and the sacred volume of inspiration [y], were in a great measure

capable of giving an air of the greatest dignity and importance to the *first philosopher*." Mosheim, II. 548.

[u] " Ce fut en ce siecle que la theologie scholastique, source d'une infinité de questions, prit sa naissance." (Du Pin, III. 145.) " Sur la fin de ce siecle on commença à faire des leçons de theologie sur les dogmes de la religion; à proposer diverses questions sur nos mysteres, et à les resoudre par des raisonnemens, et suivant la méthode de la dialectique. Ce fut là l'origine de la theologie scholastique qui devint peu de tems après la principale et presque l'unique occupation de ceux qui étudioient les matieres de la religion." Ibid. 198.

[x] Archbishop Laurence justly observes of the schoolmen: "Previously to the Reformation, whatsoever discredit may have since attached to them, they were deemed all but infallible." Bampton Lectures, 57, Oxf. 1820.

[y] Father Paul, in his " History of the Council of Trent," (p. 158, Lond. 1620) exhibits a curious picture of the neglect into which Scripture had been brought at that time by the long-prevailing habits of studying school divinity. During the debate upon the propriety of authorising the Vulgate exclusively, it was said, that " the schoolmen seeing there was no more need of other expositions in the Church, and that the Scripture was not only sufficiently but abundantly declared, they took another course to treat of holy mysteries; and seeing that men were inclined to disputings, they thought good to busy them rather in

forgotten, and the scholar who excelled in unravelling the mysteries of the schools, was considered as one who had culled the choicest fruits of learning. Nothing could be more favourable to the progress of the Roman Church than the trammels provided by the schoolmen for the studious and inquisitive[z]. The manly train of thought

examining the reasons and sayings of Aristotle, to keep the holy Scripture in reverence; from which much is derogated when it is handled after a common fashion, and is the subject of the studies and exercises of curious men. And this opinion went on so far, that Richard of Mons, a Franciscan friar, said that the doctrines of faith were now so cleared, that we ought no more to learn them out of Scripture; which, it is true, was read heretofore in the church for the instruction of the people; whereas now it is read in the church only to pr: (for devotion) (Jurieu, 87) and ought to serve every one for th. end only, and not to study. And this should be the reverence and worship due from every one to the Word of God. But at the least, the studying of it should be prohibited to every one that is not first confirmed in school divinity; neither do the Lutherans gain ground upon any but those who study Scripture." Bale treats the schoolmen with his usual asperity. "Hi perditissimi Papæ apostoli, fontes et nubes sine aqua, sine spiritu interpretes, nihil habent cum purissimo Dei verbo commune. Dele ab horum scriptis hæc frivola verba, utrum, item, ergo, nota, primo, secundo, quæritur, sequitur, dicendum, patet conclusio, consequentia, major, minor, antecedens, consequens, probatur argumentum, confirmatur ratio, arguitur sic, cum ejusmodi aliis figmentis, et vix media pars remanebit, solidæ vero doctrinæ nihil." Præfat. in Illustr. Maj. Brit. Scriptor. Summarium. Wessal. 1548.

[z] "In millenario priore apostolica doctrina fuit solum authentica, valebatque solum Scriptura canonica; indeque Satan non potuit ita potenter homines seducere. Postea, Scriptura neglecta et contempta, traditiones invaluerunt; patres, et sententiarii, et scholastici scriptores ecclesiæ obtrusi sunt." Aretius in Apocal. ap. Usser. de Success. 73.

which pervades the writings of authors truly great, the records of ecclesiastical antiquity, and the declarations of Scripture, being all equally unknown; contemplative minds willingly acquiesced under the dictates of mere authority, and were wholly unable to judge as to how far the principles and pretensions of the dominant church could be traced to any satisfactory source [a].

As the eleventh century first displayed Popery to Europe in a form very much resembling that which it has presented ever since, so the same century likewise was distinguished by the origin of the opposition to the principles and pretensions of the Roman Church, which has continued uninterruptedly to our own times. So early as the year 1017, the notice of zealous Romanists was attracted by a band of religionists at Orleans, who were charged with denying the incarnation, satisfaction, and resurrection of Christ; the efficacy of baptism for the remission of sins; transubstantiation; the utility of invoking saints; and with committing divers follies and abominations. As these unfortunate persons did not choose to abjure their errors, or at all events such opinions as they really held, they were shut up in a house,

[a] "In the Church of Rome" (the schoolmen) "have always ranked high; for principally to the aid of their sophisms was that church indebted for the absolute dominion which she acquired over the consciences of her devotees; their acute and penetrating logic was the flaming sword which turned on every side to guard the papal paradise." Abp. Laurence's Bamp. Lect. 57.

and burnt to death altogether [b]. In Flanders the constituted authorities appear to have been either more fortunate, or less sanguinary. There, in 1025, certain persons were arrested, charged with having derived from Gundulf, an Italian, a disbelief in transubstantiation, and in other peculiarities of Romanism; as well as in the efficacy of baptism, if administered to infants, or to impenitent adults. Gerrard, bishop of Cambray and Arras, instructed these prisoners in the doctrines of transubstantiation, of infant baptism, and of worshipping saints, relics, and images: either by his arguments, or by the hardships that they had undergone whilst under restraint, the prelate's auditors were converted, and they consented to recant [c]. These severities, however, did not avail

[b] Du Pin, III. 187.

[c] Ibid. 188. Upon the subject of the opinions ascribed to these early *Protestants*, we should recollect that the accounts of their doctrine are derived from their bitter enemies; and those who know any thing of the charges brought against the primitive Christians by their heathen neighbours, will receive such prejudiced testimony with very great caution. Minucius Felix thus details some of the absurd calumnies circulated in his time respecting the first professors of our holy faith: "Audio eos turpissimæ pecudis caput asini consecratum inepta nescio qua persuasione venerari: digna et nata religio talibus moribus. Alii eos ferunt ipsius antistitis ac sacerdotis colere genitalia," (p. 83.) Even Tacitus was hurried away by the stream of prejudice against Christians: they were, according to him, "hated for their enormities, seated in Rome as being the sink into which flowed whatever was atrocious and shameful, actuated by an enmity to the human race;" and when slain in crowds by Nero with horrid torments, that monster was blamed merely for the

to crush the spirit of opposition to Romanism. It was in vain with many Christians, that the policy of princes, and the superstition of the vulgar, combined to exalt the Papal Church. Those who valued the independence of their own religious communities, and still more, those who valued a faith derived in all its parts from a standard of unquestionable authenticity, and universally accessible, resolutely refused to admit the principles supported, and the pretensions advanced, by the Roman bishops. Thus these prelates had no sooner realised a large proportion of their ambitious projects, than both their right to govern the universal church, and the soundness of the doctrines to which they lent the sanction of their authority, were warmly canvassed. A broad line of distinction was gradually drawn between scriptural and traditional Christianity: the principles of Popery, and of what was eventually termed Protestantism, were placed in unceasing collision with each other[d].

savage cruelty with which he regarded their sufferings: his victims, however, were considered as "criminals, deserving of the severest punishment." Annal. xv. 44.

[d] The reason why Christian societies did not begin to *protest* against the Church of Rome before the eleventh century is, because that Church, though superstitious and encroaching before that age, had not yet adopted a large proportion of her actual characteristics. She had not pronounced that the apocryphal books are to be deemed canonical Scripture; she had recognised the authority of apostolical traditions only for the purpose of warranting image-worship; she did not forbid the reading of Scripture; she did not teach the merit of ritual observances;

In the ancient Italic diocese a formal separation from the Roman Church was accomplished in the middle of the eleventh century. The popes at length succeeded in undermining the ecclesiastical independence of their Milanese neighbours, by means of their edicts against concubinage and simony. It would seldom be difficult to persuade the more stupid and illiberal of the vulgar, that their clerical superiors possessed indulgences incompatible with their profession, and enjoyed their preferments under a questionable title. Such, accordingly, were the impressions which the persevering artifices of the papal party spread through Lombardy. The result was, that the populace of that country became dissatisfied with their clergy; and in the year 1059, the court of Rome gladly availed itself of this uneasy feeling, for the purpose of interfering in the concerns of a church, which, though so near a neighbour, absolutely declined her authority. Two legates were sent to Milan[e], and these, though opposed by the archbishop and the nobility, being aided by the prefect and the rabble, succeeded in exciting so violent a clamour against the obnoxious clergymen,

she had not adopted indulgences; she admitted that contrition alone, without absolution, was sufficient to reconcile sinners to God; she did not require auricular confession; she did not enjoin the worship of the Eucharist; she did not maintain that in the mass there was any sacrifice for the quick and dead; (Allix on the Churches of Piedmont, 218); she did not encourage people to believe that self-inflicted flagellations were possessed of any merit or utility. Du Pin, III. 202.

[e] Allix on the Piedmontese Churches, 129.

that the latter were unable to exercise their ministry in the places where they had been used to do so, and therefore withdrew for that purpose to Pataria[f]. The boys of the city considered this secession as a complete victory, and denominated the discomfited clergymen, in derision, Patarines. From the time when the Milanese priesthood thus divided itself into two parties, up to the present hour, there have always been in the north of Italy a band of Christians refusing to hold communion with the Church of Rome. The persevering hostility of that church has, indeed, long since confined these primitive Christians[g] within very narrow limits; but amidst the Alpine barriers of Lombardy they have found a secure retreat. From the valleys in which they fixed their safe but humble home, they derived the name of Waldenses. In the twelfth century an opulent merchant of Lyons, named Peter, joined this society of persecuted Christians, from whom he derived the surname of Waldo. In order to disseminate their principles, and to benefit those who professed them, this pious Lyonese translated portions of

[f] Allix on the Piedmontese Churches, 133.

[g] The Romanists are driven to admit the high antiquity of the Waldenses. Reyner, the inquisitor, who wrote, in Lombardy, about the year 1250, thus speaks of them: "Inter omnes sectas, quæ adhuc sunt vel fuerunt, non est perniciosior ecclesiæ quam Leonistarum. Et hoc, tribus de causis. Prima est; quia est diuturnior. Aliqui enim dicunt, quod duraverit a tempore Sylvestri; aliqui a tempore apostolorum, &c." Usser. de Success. 106.

Scripture into the vernacular idiom[h], and by that means he succeeded in enlarging the borders of the Waldensian church. Every movement, however, of that venerable community was watched with undissembled rage and jealousy by the intrusive Church of Rome. The Waldenses were charged with gross immoralities, and monstrous errors; nor was any expedient untried likely to root out a society, which afforded, in the very vicinity of the papal see, a standing reproach to its principles and pretensions. The Christians of the Piedmontese valleys have, however, outridden the storms by which they have been so often and so furiously assailed. Justice, at length, has been done to their principles and to their morals[i]: nor

[h] Of his version "we have to this day some old copies in the library of the University of Cambridge." Allix on the Piedmontese Churches, 192.

[i] Seysel, archbishop of Turin, indeed, in the following words did justice to the Waldenses long ago. "Nonnihil etiam ad horum Valdensium confirmandam, tolerandamque sectam confert, quod præter hæc quæ contra fidem religionemque nostram assumunt, *in reliquis ferme puriorem quam cæteri Christiani vitam agunt*. Non enim nisi coacti jurant, raroque nomen Dei in vanum proferunt, promissaque sua bona fide implent et in paupertate pars maxima degentes, Apostolicam vitam doctrinamque servare se solos protestantur: ob idque potestatem Ecclesiæ apud se velut innoxios et veros Christi discipulos residere affirmant; pro cujus Fide Religioneque in egestate vivere, et a nobis persecutionem pati pulchrum et gloriosum ducunt." (Usser. de Success. 80.) Equally satisfactory upon this point is the third reason assigned by the inquisitor Reyner, why the Leonists, or Waldenses, were so prejudicial to his church. "Tertia, quia cum omnes aliæ sectæ immanitate blasphemiarum in Deum

when Protestants are asked to name a spot in which their tenets[k] have been professed from the

audientibus horrorem inducant, hæc Leonistarum magnam habet speciem pietatis; eo quod coram hominibus juste vivant, et bene omnia de Deo credant, et omnes articulos qui in symbolo (Apostolorum sc.) continentur: *solummodo Romanam Ecclesiam blasphemant et clerum:* cui multitudo laicorum facilis est ad credendum." Usser. de Success. 78.

[k] Archbishop Usher has inserted two accounts of the faith holden by the Waldenses: one (De Success. 80.) exhibiting the belief of their church as existing in Bohemia; the other printed by the centuriators of Magdeburg from an ancient manuscript. (Ibid. 81.) Neither of these statements materially differs from the belief of modern Protestants. Dr. Allix, in his Piedmontese Churches, (315.) has inserted a statement of the Waldensian faith, drawn up by their neighbour, Archbishop Seysel. Of this the following is an abstract: "They receive only what is contained in the Old and New Testaments; they charge the popes and clergy with having depraved the Scriptures by their doctrines and glosses; they deny the obligation of paying tithes or first-fruits to the clergy; they say that consecrations of churches, indulgences, and similar benedictions, are the inventions of unfaithful priests; they do not celebrate the festivals of the saints; they assert that the suffrages of the saints are needless, Christ's mediation being sufficient for men; they deny that the Pope has any power to prohibit marriages allowed by God's law; they declare that whatever is done to deliver souls from purgatory is vain, useless, and superstitious; they deny that priests have any power to forgive sins; they declare that they alone observe the evangelical and apostolical doctrine; and on this account, with intolerable impudence, they usurp the name of the Catholic Church. Other doctrines, says the archbishop, are taught among them, by persons evidently sent from the devil, as appears from the following statement: they say, that all persons of holy conversation are warranted by St. James in hearing confessions; that no prayer should be used, unless it can be traced to some good authority, and addressed to God, a mode of con-

primitive ages of the Gospel, down to the present time[1], need they hesitate to answer the question

demning the service of the Virgin, and of other saints; that the angelic salutation is no prayer, and ought not to be used, nor ought any address to the rest of the saints; that priestly benedictions have no efficacy whatever; that holy water, having been neither made nor commanded by Christ or his apostles, is needless; that indulgences are despicable, useless things; that human souls go at once into joy or pain, not into purgatory, which is a mere invention of priestly covetousness; that the saints can take no notice of what is done upon earth; that all images and crossings are detestable; that no distinction really exists between the *latria* due to God, and the *dulia* paid to the saints; and that there is no necessity to observe the fasts of the church." Seysel also informs us, that they rejected transubstantiation, and derided the arguments used in support of it. (317.)

[1] With the exception of only three years. In the year 1679 Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, determined upon purging his dominions of the standing reproach to Popery, so remarkably afforded from the earliest ages by his Waldensian subjects, than whom he had none more loyal, peaceable, and industrious. Accordingly, he ordered all their churches to be rased, and every member of their community to apostatise, under pain of banishment from his beloved valleys. In vain did the devoted mountaineers petition; in vain did the Protestant powers of Europe remonstrate against this edict of intolerant despotism. Lewis XIV. had undertaken to co-operate with the Savoyard in the new crusade, and no intreaties availed to ward off the blow. The two princes poured an overwhelming force into the three valleys, and as "death rather than the mass," was nobly re-echoed by the miserable peasantry through every glen, the allied battalions did not accomplish their ignominious errand until after a frightful carnage. The magnanimous Christians to whose lot the crown of martyrdom did not fall, were then huddled together in the various gaols of Piedmont. In these horrid abodes more of the pious Waldenses perished. A remnant was sent into exile, from which, at the end of three years, an heroic

by pointing to the sequestered nook, sanctified and rendered illustrious by the piety and sufferings of the oppressed and calumniated Waldenses. Respecting what corner of the globe can the Romanist, if confronted with one acquainted with the history of his church, say as much for the profession of his peculiar tenets?

The same period which introduced to the notice of Europe a community of Italian Christians at variance with the Roman Church, was also distinguished by the appearance of a similar society in the South of France. The church established in that country, is known to have owned no dependence upon the Papacy until the beginning of the twelfth century[m]; during the last years of the preceding age, the court of Rome strenuously, and with considerable success, endeavoured to establish an ascendancy over the Christians of Aquitaine and Narbonese Gaul. As a large proportion of these, however, were not disposed to surrender their ecclesiastical inde-

band returned; and, after an arduous struggle, succeeded in re-establishing their community in its Alpine home. Since that time the Waldenses have lived in comparative comfort. Their undeviating loyalty has indeed never overcome the vexatious bigotry of the Sardinian government, but its intolerance has only gone to the length of subjecting them to various inconveniences. During the French ascendancy, this interesting people was treated with kindness and liberality; his Sardinian majesty has reduced them to their former state. See "A Narrative of an Excursion to the Mountains of Piemont, by the Rev. W. S. Gilly, M.A. Lond. 1824."

[m] Allix on the Churches of the Albigenses, ch. xii. p. 117.

pendence, and were much less disposed to adopt those rites and principles, which must follow their submission to the papal yoke, a violent opposition to the religious system which the paramount sovereign was willing to render dominant, agitated the Southern French before the close of the eleventh century. The most celebrated teachers of these Christians were Peter de Bruis, and his disciple Henry, who distinguished themselves at the beginning of the twelfth century, by confirming the people in that opinion of the Eucharist, which had recently conferred so much notoriety upon their countryman Berenger, by declaring that the Papacy was Antichrist, and by resisting all those innovations in worship and doctrine, which were introduced by the Romish party[n]. In point of doctrine, these French Christians agreed with the Waldenses, with whom, accordingly, they have been sometimes confounded[o]. Alby appears to have been at one time their principal seat, and

[n] Allix on the Churches of the Albigenses, ch. xii. p. 130.

[o] "Thuanus Albigenses cum Valdensibus eosdem esse statuens, hæc illorum recenset dogmata. Ecclesiam Romanam quoniam veræ Christi fidei renunciaverit, Babylonicam meretricem esse, et arborem illam sterilem, quam ipse Christus diris devovit, et revellendam esse præcepit: proinde minime parendum esse pontifici, et episcopis, qui ejus errores fovent. Monasticam vitam Ecclesiæ sentinam ac Plutonium esse, vana illius vota, nec nisi fœdis puerorum amoribus servientia: presbyterii ordines magnæ bestiæ, quæ in Apocalypsi commemoratur, notas esse: ignem purgatorium, solemne sacrum, templorum encænia, cultum sanctorum, ac pro mortuis propitiatorium, Satanæ commenta esse." Usser. de Success. 120.

from that place they have derived the name of Albigenses, by which they are generally known. Their numbers excited the liveliest anger and alarm among the Romanists, who laboured to extirpate them by means of persecution, and to render them odious by false representations of their doctrine. It was pretended that they were Manichees, an heretical sect which had engrafted the doctrines of the ancient Persian Magi upon Christianity, and which, favoured by the hatred against the Papacy, now springing up in every quarter[p], was making its way to the westward. Some members of this sect were, indeed, to be found in the South of France[q]; but it is certain that the Albigenses agreed with them in little or nothing, but in reprobation of the Roman see. In fact it admits of no dispute, that the Christians of Southern France who refused to abandon the ancient faith of Europe for the new system transmitted from Rome, did no more than retain the principles which had been communicated to their forefathers by the Asiatic missionaries who evangelised their part of Gaul[r]. In other words, they professed the faith which, since the Reformation,

[p] Gibbon, VII. 67.

[q] "Ademarus Cabanensis, monk of St. Eparque, at Limoges, says, that they were first taken notice of in Aquitaine, a little after the year 1010." Allix on the Albigenses, 109.

[r] "The churches of Vienna and Lyons were founded by persons sent from the churches of Asia; upon which account it was, that St. Irenæus sent them a relation of the persecution they suffered." Ibid. 118.

has been denominated Protestant; and the charge of Manicheeism, which has been connected with their name, is unquestionably a mere calumny, invented and adopted by the enemies of scriptural Christianity[s].

[s] Hoveden, cited by Archbishop Usher, (de Success. 122.) has preserved the following creed, which the Albigenses declared to be a statement of their principles. "Nos credimus unum Deum, trinum et unum, Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum: et Filium Dei carnem nostram suscepisse, baptizatum esse in Jordane, jejunâsse in deserto, predicâsse salutem nostram, passum, mortuum, atque sepultum, ad inferos descendisse, resurrexisse tertia die, ad cœlos ascendisse, Spiritum Paracletum in die Pentecostes misisse, venturum in die judicii ad judicandum vivos et mortuos, et omnes resurrecturos. Cognoscimus etiam quia quod corde credimus ore debemus confiteri. Credimus quia non salvatur qui non manducat corpus Christi; et quod corpus Christi non consecratur, nisi in Ecclesia, et non nisi a sacerdote, sive bono sive malo; nec melius fieri per bonum quam per malum. Credimus etiam quod non salvatur quis nisi qui baptizatur; et parvulos salvari per baptisma. Credimus etiam quod vir et mulier salvantur, licet carnaliter misceantur; pœnitentiam debeat unusquisque accipere ore et corde, et a sacerdote et in ecclesiis baptizari; et si quid amplius posset eis ostendi per Evangelia, vel Epistolas illi crederent et confiterentur." The freedom of the Albigenses from Manicheean principles, is also shewn by such accounts as have reached us, by means of their enemies, of a conference which some of their ministers held with the Romish clergy at Montreal, near Carcasson, in the year 1206. From these accounts it appears, that the following were the distinguishing tenets of these calumniated Christians. "1. That the Church of Rome was not the holy church, nor the spouse of Christ; but a church which had drunk in the doctrine of devils; in fact, the whore of Babylon, prefigured in the Apocalypse, the mother of fornications and abominations, covered with the blood of the saints. 2. That

The numerous adversaries of the Roman Church were repressed at the beginning of the thirteenth

the mass was neither instituted by Christ, nor his Apostles, but is a mere human invention. 3. That the prayers of the living are unprofitable to the dead. 4. That purgatory is a mere fiction, invented to satisfy the avarice of priests. 5. That no prayers ought to be offered to saints. 6. That transubstantiation is a human invention, and erroneous doctrine; and that the worshipping of the bread is manifest idolatry." (Allix on the Albigenses, 180.) The following is the account given by Du Pin, of Peter de Bruis' doctrine. " Il condamnoit le baptême des enfans, et rebaptisoit les adultes; il faisoit abattre les eglises et les autels, et brisoit les croix; il n'approuvoit pas la celebration de la messe, et enseignoit que les aumônes et les prieres ne servent de rien aux morts." (232.) Henry, Peter's disciple, we are told, " prêcha la même doctrine, et y ajoûta de nouvelles erreurs." (233.) These " new errors" are not specified. Of the heretics, as the historian considers them, who prevailed at that time, he says, " Il y en avoit même qui donnoient dans le manichéisme;" (ibid.); but he does not give a hint that either De Bruis, or his disciples, professed any such doctrine. Yet Du Pin was constrained to relate in the same page, (233.) that Peter de Bruis was burnt alive. Respecting Arnold of Brescia, another leader of the same party, who was strangled, and whose remains were then burnt, we are told, " Il enseignoit a-peu près les mêmes erreurs touchant le baptême des enfans, et le sacrement de l'autel. Il attaqua encore le clergé sur un article qui lui etoit sensible, en soûtenant que les ecclesiastiques ne devoient avoir aucun bien en propre." (234.) In all these accounts we do indeed read of a zeal that outran discretion; but we find no traces of Manicheeism. The clearing of the Albigensian principles from this charge, does not, however, depend upon testimony merely negative, as the following extract will prove. " D. Thuanus, præcipuis ac certis eorum doctrinæ capitibus, quæ commemorat, *alia afficta esse*, ait, *de conjugio, resurrectione, animæ statu post mortem, et de cibis.* Papirius Massonus prorsus ea silentio prætermittit. Homo quidam fide

century, by the policy and talents of Innocent III. a prelate who was raised to the papal chair in the year 1198[t], being then only thirty-seven years of age. One of the first acts of his reign

dignus, (inquit Nicolaus Vignierus,) e Gallia Novempopulana, mihi affirmavit, legisse se unam ex confessionibus eorum vetere lingua Gasconica conscriptam, ac Cancellario Hospitalio paullo ante secundas Galliæ herbas oblatam: quæ cum Waldensium doctrina plane consentiebat *nullo omnino Manichæismi comparente vestigio.* Expresse vero declarabant, canonicos se tam *Veteris* quam Novi Testamenti libros recipere: omnemque doctrinam rejecere, quæ in eis fundamentum non haberet, aut aliquid eis contrarium contineret. Indeque omnes Romanæ Ecclesiæ ceremonias, traditiones, et ordinationes repudiabant ac condemnabant: dicentes eam speluncam esse latronum, et meretricem Apocalypticam. *Albigensium etiam Religionem parum admodum ab ea discrepásse quam hodie profitentur Protestantes,* (confirmat Poplinerius,) tam ex pluribus fragmentis et monumentis, quæ antiqua patriæ illius lingua de horum temporum historia conscripta sunt; quam ex publica et solenni disputatione, inter Apamiensem episcopum et M. Arnoltotum Lombrensem ministrum habita; cujus acta integra ad hunc usque diem extant lingua ad Catalonicum potius quam patrium sive Francicum idioma accedente, conscripta. *Imo plures* (inquit) *mihi pro certo dixerunt, vidisse se articulos fidei ipsorum, veteribus quibusdam tabulis quæ Albii sunt, incisos, doctrinæ Protestantium usequaque conformes.*" Usser. de Success. 153.

It appeared desirable to vindicate the Albigensian principles at so much length, because Bossuet, who is the oracle of the English Romanists, has aspersed the character of the ancient church seated in the South of France, by charging her members with having maintained the odious opinions of oriental heretics; and, upon his authority, the calumny is transferred into such Romish books, upon the ecclesiastical history of these times, as appear in England.

[t] Usser. de Success. 128.

was the abrogation of the slight authority which the emperors were yet considered to hold over the prefect of Rome [u]. Innocent then proceeded steadily in a series of plans, conceived and executed with uncommon vigour and ability, but with little or no regard to principle or decency, for the aggrandisement of his authority. His reign was, probably, scarcely less important to the temporal interests of the Papacy, than that of Hildebrand; nor was it less offensive to such pious observers as looked upon the Roman bishop merely as the head of their religion [x]. His ambitious projects were greatly indebted for success to the course of political events. In the year preceding that of his own election to the pontificate, the emperor, Henry VI., had died, leaving an infant son, and, in consequence, a disputed succession. There soon appeared three pretenders to the imperial throne, each with his partizans contending for their patron's superiority. Innocent thus acquired a degree of importance more than usually great, and he was far from scrupulous as to his manner of using it. Diplomatic intrigues and excommunications succeeded each other; nor did the disorders of the Germanic body

[u] This officer was used to swear allegiance to the emperor on entering upon the duties of his station. Mosheim, III. 168.

[x] Matthew of Westminster (cited by Archbishop Usher, de Success. 128.) thus speaks of this pope's consecration. "In die cathedræ Sancti Petri, Papa consecratus, et in Petri cathedra collocatus, utinam Petri vestigia secutus."

cease during the whole of his pontificate[y]. It was, however, in France that he was enabled to render the most important services to his see, for he managed so as to overthrow pretty completely the opposition to Romanism pervading the southern provinces of that country. Of this opposition, Raymond, count of Toulouse, was the principal support; nor until the patronage of so powerful a prince should be withdrawn, was there any hope that Popery would reign triumphant through some of the fairest districts of Gaul. Innocent, however, had a royal auxiliary, who gladly undertook to propagate by the sword, in the territories of a powerful vassal, the opinions which he had assumed himself. Philip Augustus was then upon the throne of France, a prince of eminent abilities, who was intent upon uniting the great fiefs in his kingdom, with the crown. Accordingly, though Philip did not readily hear the papal voice when it admonished him to cohabit with a wife whom he disliked, he was all alacrity when it exhorted him to attack one of his principal feudatories, who was denounced from Rome as a heretic. Thus, with little difficulty, a crusade was organised against the Albigenses, or, in other words, a war of extermination was carried on through a great part of Southern France. The final results of this would have been perfectly satisfactory to its principal movers, had they lived

[y] Du Pin, III. 290.

to receive that gratification; for Philip's son obtained the hand of the heiress of Toulouse, portioned with the ample territories of her family[z]; and the ancient church of Aquitaine and Narbonese Gaul was reduced to bow before the superior fortune of Papal Rome[a]. But before this

[z] Du Pin, III. 321. By a treaty concluded at Paris in 1823: thus, under Lewis VIII. the territories of these counts of Toulouse, so obnoxious to the Roman see, became united with the French monarchy. In the year 1226, the papal legate had excommunicated the count of Toulouse, and conferred his territories upon Lewis and his successors. Du Pin.

[a] In 1233, after a remonstrance addressed by the papal legate to the count upon his lukewarmness. The unfortunate prince was no longer in a condition to disregard this tyrannical interference, and he consented to become at least the passive instrument in the butchery of his pious subjects. "Le Comte fit l'an 1233, une declaration très ample contre les hérétiques, qu'il publia à Toulouse le 14 de Fevrier. Ce dernier coup abattit entierement les Albigeois; *ils furent depuis abandonnéz aux Inquisitions qui acheverent de detruire les restes de ces malheureux heretiques.*" (Du Pin, 322.) The historian, probably, somewhat ashamed of a transaction so disgraceful to his church, then proceeds to detail some Manichean principles, of which the Albigenses were accused by a monk; but as this account is not compatible with that which he had given in his history of the last century of the doctrines taught by the Albigensian leaders, so neither does Du Pin pledge his own character as to its accuracy, and he introduces it by the following confused statement. "Pour venir aux erreurs des Albigeois, *cette secte aiant été composée de diverses sectes particulieres*, il est difficile de dire précisément quelles etoient les erreurs communes a toute la secte, et celles qui n'etoient enseignées que par des particuliers." These words will serve to explain the reason of the obscurity in which the truth respecting the Albigenses has been involved. Their enemies took care to include under that name all the

consummation of their ambitious hopes, both the King and the Pope had gone to their great account. Not only, however, had the latter distinguished his pontificate by such measures as led to the subjugation of Southern France; by the institution of begging friars[b], he effectually provided for the retaining of all the West in habits of obedience to his see. These claimants of superior sanctity soon overran the face of society; and as their livelihood depended upon keeping popular superstition and fanaticism in a vigorous state, as their main protection was derived from the Papacy, they proved eminently serviceable in disseminating the principles of the Roman Church, and in extending the influence of her pontiff. Another master stroke of Innocent's policy was the rendering of confession, long used

Southern French who abhorred the Papacy; and, among these, there were Manichees. It is gratifying to reflect that the Gallic Church has not been extirpated from her ancient seat, in spite of all the power and malice by which her papal enemies have assailed her. The South of France yet contains numerous Protestants.

[b] This institution of begging friars appears to have been viewed by zealous Romanists as highly important to the interests of their church. Of this impression, Archbishop Usher cites the following amusing instance from Lyranus, a commentator on the Apocalypse, (XX. 1.) "*Vidi angelum*, id est, *Innocentium Papam tertium*, descendentem de cœlo, *id est, de apice pontificali condescendentem sancto Francisco et Dominico*, habentem clavem abyssi, *id est, potestatem approbandi dictos ordines ad reprimendam potestatem diaboli*, et catenam magnam in manu sua, *id est fratrum utriusque ordinis multiplicitatem.*" De Success. 134.

and recommended by his Church, obligatory upon all Romanists of either sex; who were required by a constitution enacted at the Lateran in 1215, by his sole authority[c], to make a particular declaration of their sins to a priest, once, at least, in every year[d]. By this debasing and demoralising expedient, the whole Romish population was laid prostrate at the feet of the priesthood; who indeed contracted a new, a needless, and an awful weight of responsibility, but who were thus enabled to stifle at its birth every movement of the popular mind hostile to the ascendancy of their sect. This prostration of manly thought and independence, was farther secured by a prohibition issued by Innocent against the reading of holy Scripture[e]. That shrewd politician did not, how-

[c] There were at this Lateran council 412 bishops present, and almost 800 abbots and priors, besides deputies of absent prelates in abundance; (Du Pin, III. 338.); but there was no debate. "Les prelats ne delibererent point, leur silence fut pris pour approbation." Ibid. 339.

[d] "Le 21, est le fameux canon qui enjoint à tous les fideles de l'un et de l'autre sexe qui seront parvenus a l'age de discretion, de confesser leurs pechez au moins une fois l'an à leur propre prêtre." Ibid. 340.

[e] "The reading of the Scripture was not forbid to laymen until the year 1200. *Innocent* III. *Epist. ad Metenses.*" (Allix on the Churches of Piedmont, 219.) "On this head I cannot do better than extract the following passage from a letter of Fenelon to the bishop of Arras. "I think," says the illustrious prelate, "that much trouble has been taken, in our times, very unnecessarily, to prove what is incontestible, that all people read the Bible and Liturgy in their native languages; that, as a part of good education, children were made to read them; that, in

ever, rest contented with these safeguards of papal pre-eminence. He also made provision for

their sermons, the ministers of the church regularly explained to their flocks whole books of the Sacred Volumes: that, the sacred text of the Scriptures was very familiar to the people; that, the clergy exhorted the people to read them; that, the clergy blamed the people for not reading them; and considered the neglect of the perusal of them as a source of heresy and immorality. It should seem that the Waldenses and Albigenses obliged the Church to have recourse to her strict authority, in refusing the perusal of the Sacred Scripture to all persons who were not disposed to read it to their advantage. I do not, however, undertake to assert that this prohibition was then issued by the Church for the first time. But, certainly, the indocility and spirit of revolt, which then appeared among the laity, the neglect of the pastors to explain the Scriptures, and the contempt which the people began to shew for their instructions, made it manifest that it had become unsafe to permit the people at large to read the Sacred Text; and consequently made it necessary for the Church to withhold from the laity the perusal of it without the permission of their pastors." (Conf. of Faith by C. Butler, Esq. Lond. 1816. p. 142—4.) From this account it appears, that the people having had free access to Scripture for twelve hundred years, to the best of Fenelon's knowledge and belief, and the reading of the Bible having been considered during that time the best preventive of "heresy and immorality," was then found to be dangerous, and therefore the Church used her "strict authority," (where did she get it?) to restrain Christians from perusing this dangerous volume, unless their confessors should think it safe to entrust it into their hands. The specific danger apprehended by "the Church," as the pope and cardinals are styled, appears to have been, lest the people should continue, or become, Waldenses or Albigenses; the latter of whom, according to Bishop Bossuet, Dr. Milner, and Mr. Butler, were infected with "the heresies and immoralities" of the Manicheeans, a class of persons who, not being able themselves to extract their peculiar opinions from Scripture, took the

intimidating the more resolute enemies of Popery, by establishing the Inquisition[f]; and by decreeing, that feudal lords, required by the ecclesiastical authorities to clear the districts under their authority, of persons denounced as heretics by the Roman Church, and refusing to obey, should be excommunicated; and that, if then disobedient, their vassals should be absolved from their obligations to them by the Pope, and their states conferred upon such as would undertake to exterminate the enemies of the Papacy[g].

liberty of rejecting the greatest part of it. Perhaps a Protestant may be excused for suspecting that the following is the true state of the case: Hildebrand's plans for supplanting the ancient religion of Europe, and substituting Popery in its room, being found incapable of complete execution, so long as men could turn to their Bibles, Innocent prudently refused to allow them that opportunity any longer.

[f] "Illud quoque observatione dignum, ab Innocentio III. delegatæ Inquisitionis officium institutum esse: *ad episcoporum* sc. *nolentium aliis negotiis præferre Fidei negotia*, supplendam negligentiam." Usser. de Success. 131.

[g] This decree passed, as it is said, at the fourth Lateran council, in 1215, is thus given by Collier. (Eccl. Hist. I. 424.) "If any temporal lord shall refuse to purge his country from heretical pravity, after he has been advertised and admonished by the Church to do so, he shall be excommunicated by the metropolitan and his suffragans. And in case he contemns the discipline of the Church, and refuses to make satisfaction within a year, his contumacy is to be certified to the Pope, *who, upon such information, shall declare his vassals or subjects absolved from their allegiance, invite the Catholics to seize the country, and enjoy it after the expulsion of the heretics.* The same method of discipline is likewise to be observed towards those who have no superior lords. The meaning of this last clause is, that if any

Judicious, however, in a worldly point of view, as were Innocent's plans for extirpating the prin-

sovereign prince refuses to clear his dominions of heresy, he was to be excommunicated, his subjects absolved from their allegiance, and his crown transferred to any Catholic prince that could make a successful invasion. But here it must be said, that this chapter or canon is not to be found in the Mazarine copy coeval with the council, but is transcribed from a later record." Dr. Milner (Letters to a Prebendary, p. 69,) thus speaks of this canon: "What would you (Dr. Sturges) and Dr. Rennell say, if I were to follow the account of one of our ancient historians (Matthew Paris), who denies that these canons in general were the acts of the council itself; or that of one of your most learned divines, (Collier, vide supra), who asserts that the canon above quoted, in particular, is spurious?" These discussions, however, are not entered into; but Dr. Milner inserts, in a note below, the following words of Du Pin. (Biblioth. tom. x.) "Il est certain que ces chapitres ne sont point l'ouvrage du concile, mais celui d'Innocent III." Now from all this it merely appears, that in one ancient account of this famous council, the decree in question is said to be wanting; but no one has said that this decree was not read to the council, and passed without the least opposition from any of the mixed multitude assembled at the Lateran; nor has any writer said, that Innocent did not propound this decree, and act upon its principle moreover; nor that his successors have imitated his example. In fact, vainly will Romanists strive to purge their Church from the obloquy brought upon her by the able but unprincipled Innocent. It is not as an individual, but as the chief priest of Popery, that this prelate's memory deserves to be held in execration. To say nothing of his tyrannical regulations, and of his other acts, the blood of the murdered Christians which watered so plentifully, at his bidding, the fields of Southern France, must ever place Innocent high upon the list of those who have brought discredit upon their station. Of such a man, Archbishop Usher's punning censure can hardly be thought too severe. "Ex omni certe Pontificum Romanorum turba, semper excipio Hilde-

ciples and overthrowing the independence of all the ancient European Churches, that doctrine which apostolical teachers had planted in the West during the primitive times, defied every effort that was made to root it out. There was no Romish country which did not contain many Christians professing sentiments more or less pure, at variance with the established creed[h]. The bulk of Englishmen will reflect with some satisfaction, that a countryman of their own was the first, who, after the full developement and greatest prevalence of the papal system, first called the attention of men in superior life to the claims of Scriptural Christianity. Roused by the offensive pretensions and ignorant fanaticism of the mendicant friars[i],

brandum, nullum malitiæ diabolicæ instrumentum Ecclesia Dei experta est nocentius quam istum Innocentium." De Success. 130.

[h] The second reason alleged by Reyner for the perniciousness of the Waldenses to the papacy is the following: "Fere nulla est terra, in qua hæc secta non sit." (Usser de Success. 107.) In our own country the Albigenses, who are said by Knighton to have come over in the reign of King John, became so numerous, that, as the same historian assures us, they "covered all England." Allix on the Albigenses, 228.

[i] "The friars mendicants, whom Cardinal Albizi did very truly call the pope's soldiers, had usurped all the rights of the secular clergy, and advanced their conquests for the pope to that degree, that the authority of the princes and bishops signified nothing any longer in England, except only when they acted in favour of the monks. From the time of Matthew Paris, who gives us so strange a description of their insolence, and of their attempts against the authority of the clergy, things were carried to that

John Wickliffe [k], reader in divinity at Oxford, turned his back upon the schoolmen, and studied Scripture for the purpose of ascertaining how far the doctrines, so officiously obtruded upon the world, were consistent with the undoubted revelation of God's will. The result of his enquiries was a firm conviction, that the popularity of the friars was entirely owing to men's ignorance of the truths really contained in the Gospel. Having arrived at this conclusion, he bent the whole force of his high reputation and distinguished talents [l], to shake that religious system which he saw reason to believe injurious to the best interests of mankind. The undertaking was arduous, but it was eminently successful. Men of all ranks embraced his opinions [m].

height, that nothing was any longer able to oppose them." Ibid. 249.

[k] "It appeareth by such as have observed the order and course of times, that this Wickliffe flourished about the year of our Lord 1371. Edward the Third reigning in England." Foxe's Acts and Monuments. Lond. 1610. I. 390.

[l] "We see the esteem Wickliffe had (in the University of Oxford,) by the testimony they gave in 1406, against those that endeavoured to blemish the memory of that great man: for after they had spoken of his piety and probity, as of a thing known to all men, after they had declared that he was a courageous defender of the faith, they add, that he had, in a catholic way, overthrown all those who, by a voluntary poverty, blasphemed the Religion of Christ." Allix on the Albigenses, 250.

[m] "He had made so great progress among the clergy that he writes himself, that above a third part of the clergy were ready to defend his doctrine with the hazard of their lives." Ibid. 249.

Even John of Ghent, Duke of Lancaster, became his disciple and protector. A defection so extensive alarmed the hierarchy, and the usual arts of intimidation were promptly tried, in the hope of crushing that manly spirit of enquiry which was arising throughout the land. But the attempt was vain. Wickliffe, indeed, himself appears to have yielded to his fears, or to the importunity of his friends, and to have given such an explanation of his tenets as disarmed the hostility of the ruling ecclesiastics. To this concession, or to the protection of his powerful patrons, it was, probably, owing that he was allowed to spend the evening of his days in tranquillity upon his rectory of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire; where he finished his important life in the common course of nature [n]. His principles, however, were of immortal mould, and no exertions of their enemies availed to extirpate them from the public mind [o]. The master, when withdrawn from hu-

[n] "In the beginning of the year 1384, upon Sylvester's day." Foxe I. 411.

[o] The following compendium of Wickliffe's doctrine was collected from his sermons during his life. "That the holy Eucharist, after consecration, is not the very body of Christ, but figuratively: that the Church of Rome is not the head of all Churches more than any other Church is; nor that Peter hath any more power given of Christ than any other apostle hath: that the pope of Rome hath no more in the keys of the Church than any other within the order of priesthood. If God be, the Lord's temporal may lawfully and meritoriously take away their temporalities from the churchmen offending *habitualiter*. If any temporal lord do know the Church so offending, he is bound,

man eyes, yet spoke to the understandings and consciences of his grateful countrymen by his nu-

under pain of damnation, to take the temporalities from the same. That the Gospel is a rule sufficient of itself to rule the life of every Christian man here, without any other rule, (such as those of the monastic orders.) That, all other rules, under whose observances divers religious persons (i. e. monks and friars,) be governed, do add no more perfection to the Gospel than doth the whiteness to the wall. That neither the pope, nor any other prelate of the Church, ought to have prisons wherein to punish transgressors." (Ibid. 196.) Besides this short account of Wickliffe's doctrine, it may be desirable to present the reader with an abstract of his principles, drawn from what Dr. Allix has identified as his, by references to his writings. (On the Albigenses, 452.) This able and excellent man then taught, that " the books of Scripture pronounced canonical by the Jews and Protestants, are those only which are so in reality, the rest being apocryphal: that Scripture contains all things necessary to salvation: that every well-disposed Christian may understand Scripture: that Scripture ought to be circulated in the vulgar tongue: that traditions are hateful, except so far as grounded upon Scripture, because they lay difficulties in the way of keeping God's law, and hinder the due course of God's word, that, in fact, they are mere inventions, intended to gain money; that it is ridiculous to consider the pope as the highest priest, since Christ conferred no such office upon Peter, nor any one else: that the pope has no power over the temporalities of kings, that he is not infallible, and that there is reason to believe all the bishops of Rome, for the last three hundred years, to have been heretics: that the Church of Rome may err, and yet, notwithstanding, purity of doctrine may be preserved in the Catholic Church: that wicked men are not true members of the Church: that justification follows from Christ's merits alone: that transubstantiation is a false doctrine, and was not believed in the Church, until, after a thousand years, when Satan was unbound, and the people blinded by the monks: that there are but two sacraments: that chrism ought not to be used in baptism: that if

merous writings; nay, his voice was heard in thunder from his translation of the Scriptures,

extreme unction had been a sacrament, Christ and his apostles would have declared so to the world: that the anointing, and other popish ceremonies used at confirmation, are vanities unwarranted in Scripture, and therefore blasphemy against God: that images are detestable, and the current miracles cheats, flowing from the devil's falsehood: that where contrition exists, auricular confession is vain and superfluous: that penances are unauthorised: that to rely upon indulgences is folly: that the best part of fasting is abstinence from sin: that the begging of friars is a robbery, and that these mendicants magnify obedience to sinful men more than to Christ: that the marriage of priests is desirable: that kings ought not to be subject to any foreign jurisdiction: that the threats of purgatory are so many pious lies; and that the discipline of the Roman Church is faulty in many particulars which he specifies." Thus it appears that Wickliffe's doctrine condemned the whole of those tenets and usages in the Romish religion which are not to be deduced satisfactorily, or not at all, from Scripture. Readers, however, who are content with such information as Dr. Milner supplies, would imagine, from his work, so applauded by the English Romanists, that "the blessed Eucharist is well known to have been the chief article in the received faith which Wickliffe declaimed against." (Letters to a Prebendary, 77.) In some observations upon his doctrine, in a former page, (74.) we find the following words. "In speaking of this doctrine, you say, that there might be some mixture of what was exceptionable in his opinions. Is this, Dr. Sturges, the proper qualification, particularly in such times as these, for *the most seditious and incendiary doctrines that ever were broached in these kingdoms?*" Of this passage the drift seems to be, to represent the preaching, or at all events, the principles of Wickliffe, as chiefly suited for political levellers. One mode of persuading people to believe this of Wickliffe was by representing him to have taught the unlawfulness of ecclesiastical endowments. It is, however, certain from his own words, cited by Dr. Allix, (on the Albigenses,

which was his noblest legacy to England. However, the dissemination of his principles among the classes interested in the permanence of existing institutions, by either the possession of wealth, or by enjoying facilities for its acquisition, was impeded by the usurpation of Henry IV., who won over the hierarchy to his cause by arming them with sanguinary powers against such of their fellow-subjects as believed that what the inspired penmen have not recorded, no Christian is bound to receive as an article of faith. But although the opinions of Wickliffe were thus prevented from spreading in superior life, they had obtained such a hold upon the popular mind as effectually prepared it for the Reformation. In vain were his disciples known as Wickliffites, or Lollards [p], prescribed by cruel laws, and stigma-

259.) that he only asserted ecclesiastical estates to be as justly subject to the regulation of national laws as those of laymen.

[p] So called probably from Walter Lollard, who was burnt at Cologne, in the year 1323, as a holder of Waldensian tenets. The same name was assigned to the disciples of Wickliffe, because it was found that their principles were nearly, if not exactly, the same as those professed by the disciples of Lollard. Others derive the name from *lolium*, darnel, or tares, (as the authorized English version of Scripture renders the corresponding Greek word,) nor is it unlikely that some of the clergy might have represented the Lollards as the tares which, in parabolical language, the enemy had sown among the Lord's husbandry. Mosheim's etymology of the name is sought from the old German, in which, he says, *lollen*, (Angl. lull.) means to sing, and he supposes the Wickliffites to have been thence denominated because they were constantly singing hymns to God.

tized by foul aspersions, as pernicious heretics [q]; in vain was the English Bible denounced as an

[q] From a confession of the Lollards presented to Parliament, before the deposition of Richard II., and printed in Latin, with a translation in old English, by Dr. Allix, (on the Albigenses, 231.) we may gather the following particulars respecting the tenets of Wickliffe's disciples. "That the Church of England had long been blind and leprous by means of a proud prelacy, and a multiplicity of monastic establishments; that since she had doted after temporal goods, following the example of her Roman step-mother, faith, hope, and charity had left her; that the priesthood, as now established, is of Romish origin, claims a power higher than that of angels, is not such as Christ instituted, is set apart by rites not enjoined in Scripture, rites too which evidently do not, of necessity, confer heavenly gifts, for such are not consistent with deadly sin in any man; that many wise men consider orders, as actually conferred, to be sporting with the Holy Ghost, and the outward distinctions of the clergy, to be the livery of antichrist; that clerical celibacy ought not to be enforced, as being the cause of abominable evils; that transubstantiation is a feigned miracle, leading the people to idolatry; that exorcisms and hallowings of visible objects are fitter for necromancy than for theology; that spiritual persons ought not to hold temporal jurisdiction; that houses built for the purpose of offering up special prayers for departed souls are built on a false foundation; that pilgrimages, prayers, and offerings made to blind roods and deaf images, are akin to idolatry, a book of error to the ignorant, and that the common image of the Trinity is most abominable; that confession and absolution are the sources of priestly pride and popular delusion; that if the pope be entrusted with the dispensation of saintly merit to those who need it, he must be devoid of charity, or he would deliver all the prisoners in pain; that homicide in battle, or in the course of law, without a special revelation, is contrary to the New Testament; that vows of continence made by women, lead to child-murder, and other crimes; that the numerous arts encouraged by the church feed pride and vanity; and that,

unfaithful and dangerous book; the good seed sown was firmly rooted, and no arts or persecutions of the enemy availed to render it unfruitful. Rather than deny the principles which had been illustrated and extended by the genius and virtues of Wickliffe, Sir John Oldcastle, baron of Cobham, faced the horrors of a painful public death; and victims of lower birth, but of equal constancy, testified with their blood, from time to time, their immoveable adherence to the same righteous cause [r].

therefore, trades, such as those of goldsmiths, armourers, and others, of no utility to man, should be put down, for the increase of virtue." In this authentic statement of Lollard principles we do, indeed, find crude positions, but certainly no trace whatever of principles likely to produce "the rank harvest of insurrection, plunder, murder, and civil war, with which every one knows the reign of Richard II. was disgraced." (Letters to a Prebendary, 76.) On the contrary, people who professed to live according to what is revealed in Scripture alone, (a text-book very ill adapted for turbulent levellers,) who expressed the utmost abhorrence of shedding human blood, and a sovereign contempt for the elegancies of life, were not very likely, if they acted according to their principles, to come forward as despoilers and murderers. Dr. Milner, however, tells us, not only that the Lollards did so act, but also, that their conduct was the natural effect of their principles. He says, "these rebellions, which nearly proved fatal to the kingdom, are as evidently traced to the revolutionary and equalizing doctrines of Wickliffe and his followers, as an effect is to its cause in any other instance whatever."

[r] Two in the days of Henry IV., the first English king that put any to death for the doctrine of Rome, (i. e. after the statute for that purpose was passed,) omitting Sir John Oldcastle and others, that died in the Gospel's defence, in the days of king

The benefit of Wickliffe's labours was not confined to his native land. His principles were already rooted in Bohemia, when his opposition to papal Rome began, by means of a Waldensian colony which had taken refuge in that country, from the oppressions of Lombard persecutors. The Bohemian princess, whom Richard II. married, brought a few of her more distinguished countrymen into England, and one of them, who studied at Oxford, returned home with some of Wickliffe's books, and a full conviction of his uncommon merit[s]. The impression thus made was soon after confirmed by an Englishman, named Peter Payne, who introduced the Bohemians to a farther acquaintance with that Divine light which was now dawning upon the region of his birth[t]. The information received from England sank deeply into the heart of John Huss, a man whose virtues in private life, whose eloquence in the pulpit, and whose talents in the divinity-chair, excited the admiration of all ranks in the city of Prague[u]. This excellent divine entered with ardour into most of Wickliffe's

Henry V., four in the days of king Henry VI., one in the days of king Edward IV., and ten in the time of king Henry VII., sealed the doctrine against the papal religion with their bloods, all of them being martyred before that Martin Luther wrote. And in the reign of this king (Henry VIII.) twenty-six suffered the fire before the six articles were passed." Speed's History of Britain.

[s] Collier, I. 586.

[t] Du Pin, III. 482.

[u] Mosheim, III. 406.

views, and he soon laid the foundation of a party extending through every gradation of society, which made Bohemia resound with complaints of Romish principles and pretensions. This new and vigorous attack upon their tenets naturally became a principal object of attention with the divines assembled at the Council of Constance, in the year 1414 [x], with a view to find a remedy for the enormous evils which had almost overwhelmed the papal Church. Before these pillars of the dominant religion Huss was summoned to give an account of his doctrine. Confiding in a safe-conduct granted to him by the Emperor Sigismund, he obeyed the call, and repairing to Constance, he there justified and explained in person the principles which he had taught at Prague. But his imperial guarantee had only lured him to his fate. What need was there to keep faith with a heretic? In defiance of every principle which confers honour upon men, and advantage upon society, when the pious Bohemian was found resolute in maintaining his opinions, he was thrown into a dungeon, and having been condemned as a heretic, he was committed to the flames [y]. Within a year after this deed of perfi-

[x] This council sate three years and six months, being dissolved on the 22d of April, 1418. Mosheim, III. 419.

[y] July 6, 1415. (Mosheim, III. 411.) Sleidan, (Comment. 1559, p. 43.) speaking of the murder of Huss and his friend, relates these particulars: "That when Huss was apprehended, the emperor Sigismund was absent from Constance, and being informed of what was done there, was much hurt: that when the

dious cruelty, Jerome of Prague, the martyr's friend, who kindly undertook to share his jour-

Papists argued with him against the necessity of keeping faith with heretics, he allowed himself to be won over by their sophistries; and, in spite of remonstrances addressed to him by the Bohemians, fully concurred in the propriety of the proceedings against the unfortunate men whom he had entrapped; and that, before the council separated, it determined, that faith was not to be kept with heretics, or with those suspected of heresy." The following is Dr. Milner's comment upon this nefarious transaction. "You maintain, that the execution of these men (Huss and Jerome) by a general council, after safe-conducts had been granted to them, is a proof that the Church held not only the doctrine of *persecution*, but also that of *perjury*. But, in the first place, is it true, that either John Huss or Jerome of Prague was put to death by the council? No, Sir, for the council having examined their faith and excommunicated them, expressly declared, that it had no power to proceed further against them. They were both of them successively committed to the flames by the magistrates of Constance, in virtue of the standing laws of the empire, and by the particular order of the Elector Palatine, and the Emperor Sigismund." (Letters to a Prebendary, 79.) "To preserve some appearance of the aversion of the Church to the shedding of blood, the inquisitor, when he delivers up the offender, implores, in terms of great earnestness, the secular judges to save the lives of the criminals, (Angl. those who will not embrace Popery,) delivered into their hands: but this is a mockery of mercy, as excommunications have been denounced against all lay judges, who refuse or delay to execute the laws which condemn heretics to death." (Historical Memoirs of the English Catholics, by C. Butler, Esq. Lond. 1821, III. 84.) From this statement it may be reasonably inferred, that the forbearance, which Dr. Milner has ascribed to the council of Constance, was more like the hateful sport of cruel children, than any thing else. Nor are the modes of clearing the transactions at Constance from the charge of perfidy, a whit more satisfactory. "The safe-conduct of Huss is nothing more than

ney, for the purpose of supporting his spirits,

a common travelling passport to protect him from seizure or violence on his journey to and from the council." (Letters to a Prebendary, 80.) Mr. Butler has printed the following translation of this safe-conduct in his Memoirs, (p. 97.) "Sigismund, &c. to all princes as well ecclesiastical as secular, and to all our other subjects greeting. We affectionately recommend to all of you in general, and to every one of you in particular, the honourable Mr. John Huss, B.D. and M.A. going from Bohemia to the council of Constance: whom we have taken under our protection and safeguard, and into that of the empire, desiring you, when he comes among you, to receive him well, and entertain him kindly, furnishing him with all necessaries for his despatch and security, whether he goes by land or water, without taking from him or his, at coming in or going out, for any sort of duties whatsoever; and to let him freely and securely pass, sojourn, stop, and repass: and providing him, if need be, with good passports, for the honour and respect of his imperial majesty. Given at Spire, 18 Oct. 1414." This instrument, considered in the light of a travelling passport, seems intended to protect Huss from any exactions upon his road to Constance, and to prevent any petty sovereign, through whose territories he might pass, from detaining him under a charge of heresy, or under any other pretence. His safety on the road from ordinary dangers and difficulties, was sufficiently provided for before he left home; since, according to Sleidan, he travelled in company with a party of Bohemian nobles. The Emperor was evidently pledged to ensure his safe return into his own country, by the following words: "*Whom we have taken under our protection and safeguard, and that of the empire.*" Few men would suppose that the Emperor only undertook to guarantee the safety of Huss so long as he should be without the reach of his enemies. It is pretty clear from the following anecdote, inserted by Archdeacon Coxe, in his History of the House of Austria, (I. 214.) that the countrymen of Huss considered him to have received something more than a travelling passport from Sigismund: Ziska, "being frequently seen by the king with folded arms, and absorbed in thought, Wenceslaus demanded the cause of this unusual gloom.

and aiding his counsels, was dragged from prison

What Bohemian can be otherwise, he replied, than deeply affected, when his country is insulted by the infamous execution of Huss and Jerome? The king carelessly shook his head, and answered: What can we do to repair this injury? if thou canst devise any means, go and avenge thy countrymen, thou hast our free permission." Pelzel (p. 316) is cited as the authority for this relation.

The following decree of the council of Constance is, however, a convincing proof, that the members of that body considered Huss to have received something more from Sigismund than "a common travelling passport."—"Every safe-conduct granted by the emperor, by kings, and other temporal princes, to heretics, or persons accused of heresy, in hopes of reclaiming them, ought not to be of any prejudice to the Catholic faith, or to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or to hinder that such persons may and ought to be examined, judged, and punished, according as justice shall require, if those heretics refuse to revoke their errors, *even though they should be arrived at the place where they are to be judged only upon the faith of the safe-conduct, without which they would not have come thither:* and that the person who shall have promised them security, *shall not, in this case, be obliged to keep his promise, by whatever tie he may be engaged*; because he has done all that is in his power to do." (Hist. Mem. of the Catholics, III. 102.) Mr. Butler thus apologizes for this canon: "It only intimates, that when any prince grants a safe-conduct, which conflicts with the faith or morals of the Church of Christ, or with the legal or constitutional rights of the Church or State, he has exceeded his legitimate authority, and this exercise of his power is consequently null." Thus it appears, that the council was quietly to permit Sigismund to entrap an obnoxious person, then pretend that neither he, nor any man who should lend himself to such an act of perfidy, was bound to his promise; that, in fact, no prince had any authority to interfere in the proceedings of a council at all, except so far as to decoy into its power individuals, who, without such an inducement, would have kept out of its reach.

to the stake[z]. This act consummated the crimes committed by the divines assembled at Constance: their follies are of little moment; but even these are not wholly undeserving of notice. For the first time, then, the sacramental cup was formally denied to the Romish laity[a]: forty-five propositions, selected from Wickliffe's writings, were condemned as heretical[b]; and, in a petty spirit of resentment, worthy the council of Constance, it was directed, that the great English reformer's bones should be disinterred and burnt[c]. The principles of Wickliffe were, however, beyond the reach of his posthumous detractors. Neither in England nor in Bohemia, did his followers heed the condemnation of those who professed to represent the universal church. Indeed, in the latter country, the disciples of Huss as-

[z] May 30, 1416. Mosheim, III. 411.

[a] Ibid. 416.

[b] These had been already condemned by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the universities of Paris and Prague. Du Pin, III. 486.

[c] "An impartial view of the dreadful effects of his doctrine in this and other countries, would have made you see, in the ordinance of the council against his memory and remains, not an act of vengeance, but a wise and salutary instruction to mankind." (Letters to a Prebendary, 74.) This apology, however, is of no value. Whatever might have been the misconduct of individuals professing themselves disciples of Wickliffe, it is certain that such misconduct is in no degree chargeable upon his doctrine: nor have Romanists, who make such reflections, any right to complain, when the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, the murders at Constance, and other such enormities, are imputed to *their* doctrine.

serted by the sword[d] their determination to maintain that doctrine for which their revered countrymen had been contented to shed their blood. Nor can it excite surprise, that intelligent and serious men were so ready to receive an impulse from assailants of the established church. The corruptions of the dominant ecclesiastical system had become so glaring, that they were confessed, on all hands, to be enormous and intolerable. Yet, notwithstanding the universal acknowledgment of this truth, both the council of Constance, and that of Basil[e], which, after the interval of a few years, succeeded it, failed to effect that reformation of the Roman Church in her head and in her members, admitted, even by her warmest advocates, to be indispensable[f]. Abuses, which no

[d] Under the famous Ziska. The Hussites, unfortunately, after baffling all the efforts of their opponents, split into parties, of which the two principal were the Calixtins, (so called from *calix*, a cup), who were contented to retain the principal doctrines of Romanism, on condition of being admitted to the sacramental cup; and the Taborites, (so called from Tabor, the fortified station which formed the head-quarters of their party,) who insisted upon the total abolition of Popery. The latter party was, at length, defeated in the field; but it was found necessary to make some concessions not usually granted to Romanists, before the ferment of the Bohemian people could be allayed. Coxe's Hist. of the House of Austria, Lond. 1820, I. 215.

[e] Opened July 23, 1431. It continued to sit until the year 1443. Mosheim, III. p. 420. 425.

[f] "La necessité qu'il y avoit de reformer l'Eglise dans son chef, et dans ses membres touchant la discipline et les mœurs, fut generalement reconnue. Les conciles de Constance, et de

man pretended to palliate or overlook, were perseveringly continued; and thus, when the sixteenth century, pregnant with great events, began to unfold its series of interesting years, there were few individuals of more than ordinary discernment in Western Europe, who did not feel that some important change in ecclesiastical affairs must shortly become inevitable.

Indeed, men of intelligence, who considered the recent history of the Roman Church, could scarcely doubt that danger threatened her from the very quarter which had consolidated her greatness, and upon which, probably, her preservation depends. Philip the Fair, king of France, having been harassed by contentions with the Roman see, contrived to obtain the election of a Frenchman to the popedom, and to fix his residence at Avignon[g]. This stroke of successful policy proved so advantageous to France, that no exertions were spared to retain the princely pontiffs on this side of the Alps; and, during seventy years[h], Rome was deprived of her bishop's pre-

Bâle, se proposerent de le faire; mais ils n'en purent venir a bout." (Du Pin, III. 529.) Bossuet, in making the same avowal at the beginning of his "Variations," is careful to remark, that the cry for reform was not directed to the doctrine of the Roman Church. But that observation is wide of the truth. In every European country were to be found multitudes who declared that the tree which produced such corrupt fruit, was in itself corrupt.

[g] In 1305. Mosheim, III. 315.

[h] Called among the Romans, by way of derision, *the Babylonish captivity*.

sence. The citizens, however, of that ancient capital became, at length, extremely impatient under the loss of wealth and dignity, to which they were from this cause subjected; and in consequence, on the death of Gregory XI. they assembled tumultuously round the conclave, and intimidated the cardinals into the choice of an Italian pope. The object of this inauspicious election was Urban VI. a morose, presumptuous prelate, who soon gave universal disgust. This feeling induced the cardinals to elect another pontiff, under the plea, that in their former choice, their suffrages had not been free. It was, however, found impossible to dislodge Urban from Rome; and his rival, known as Clement VII. was therefore obliged to fix his residence at Avignon. The two pretenders to the papal chair were no sooner established in their respective abodes, than each of them laboured by every art, utterly careless of its character, to extinguish his opponent's power[1]. The nations of Europe embraced different sides in the disgraceful contest between the claimants of her chief pastorship; intrigues and outrages, excited by men who called themselves vicars of the Prince of Peace, rapidly succeeded

[1] The two British nations took different sides in this dispute, as they did in most others. England acknowledged Urban as Christ's vicar; Scotland, treating him as a schismatic and an usurper, assigned that honour to Clement. The Wickliffites took advantage of the dispute, and argued from it, that even if the Church had ever been confided to the governance of a chief pastor, his office evidently was then in abeyance.

each other; and the antichristian character, assigned, during a succession of ages, to the Papacy, by its numerous enemies, received a specious confirmation from its actual state. The evil, however, was suffered to continue. Each faction no sooner lost its pontiff, than it elected another. At length a third party arose, not to be satisfied without a pope of its own: and thus, when the council of Constance assembled, the Roman Church, that boasted model of unity, was exhibited to the world, like the fabled Cerberus, as a monster with three heads [k]. The Constantine fathers at least delivered their sect from the reproach of this inconsistency, by lopping off all these unseemly excrescences; and, in the room of the three deposed popes, Martin V. was unanimously raised to the pontificate. The unity of the papal church was not, however, then quite complete [l], nor was it of long duration. The

[k] Archdeacon Coxe, in a note to his History of the House of Austria, (I. 212.) has supplied the subjoined table, illustrating this schism.

ROME.	AVIGNON.	BOLOGNA.
" Urban VI. 1378	Clement VII. 1379	.....
Boniface IX. 1389	Benedict XIII. .. 1395	.....
Innocent VII..... 1404	.....	Alexander V. 1409
Gregory XII..... 1406	.....	John XXIII. 1410

The three last were deposed by the council of Constance, in 1417."

[l] Benedict XIII. who resided at Perpignan, " persisted until the day of his death, which happened in the year 1423, in assuming the title, the prerogatives, and the authority of the Papacy. And when this obstinate man was dead, a certain Spaniard, named Giles Munois, was chosen pope in his place by two

council of Basil, by the liberties which it took with the prerogatives claimed by the pontiffs, having alarmed and irritated Eugenius IV., that prelate assembled a rival council, first, at Ferrara, afterwards, at Florence. This step opened a new scene in the papal drama. The Basilian divines treated those assembled by the Pope with scorn; and, by way of returning with interest his holiness's expressions of anger and contempt, they decreed his deposition, and elected another pontiff in his room [m]. But Eugenius would not resign possession of the papal chair, nor would he be outdone in violence by his transalpine opponents. Condemnations and defiances, accordingly, passed and re-passed in quick succession between Basil and Florence; nor could any rational observer deny, that the claims of the Papacy to a spiritual character were rendered not a little suspicious by the actual posture of its affairs.

After the death of Eugenius, Nicholas V. was elected to the popedom; which, by his talents and virtues, he once more rendered respectable. His pontificate, however, continued only during eight years; and his place was, after that period,

cardinals, under the auspicious patronage of Alphonsus, king of Sicily; but this sorry pontiff, in the year 1429, was persuaded to resign his pretensions to the Papacy, and to leave the government of the church to Martin V." Mosheim, III. 405.

[m] Amadeus, duke of Savoy, known in the papal list as Felix V. He resigned his pretensions to the tiara in 1449. Ibid. 424. 427.

occupied by five individuals in succession, alike destitute of considerable excellences, and of glaring defects: prelates, whose attention was engrossed by the petty details of Italian politics, by an anxiety to unite the powers of Christendom against the Turks, and by the enriching of their own families; rather than by judicious endeavours to retrieve the character of the Roman Church[n]. The papal series which fills the fifteenth century, was, however, closed, by a man of more decided character. Roderic Borgia, a Spaniard by birth, applied his fine abilities in early youth to the study of the law; but its dry details inspired him gradually with aversion; and he sought, amidst the gaiety and bustle of a military life, scenes far more congenial to his taste. From these he tore himself, at the invitation of his uncle, Pope Calixtus III. who rightly judged, that his gallant nephew's fortune would be sooner made if he became a cardinal. The dissipated officer, for such he was, underwent the metamorphosis with admirable facility, and determined to lose no advantage, which his change of character might offer. He left his mistress, Vanozza, in a provincial town, established his own residence in Rome, and played his part there with such dexterity, that the whole city rang with the fame of his piety and virtues. The constraint which he suffered, probably, proved severe; for, being sent to Spain as legate, his gallantries soon became noto-

[n] Du Pin, III. 454.

rious; and when he left that country, he took with him the hearty contempt of all who had known him there. However, his Roman reputation continued unimpaired; and the papal chair having become vacant, he made the most strenuous efforts to secure the splendid prize. Bribes, promises, and intrigues, liberally and judiciously employed, overcame every opposition; and Borgia, henceforth styled Alexander VI. was adored as sovereign pontiff. The summit of his ambition being thus attained, he no longer deemed it necessary to wear the mask of mortification quite so closely as when only an expectant. Vanozza took a house in Rome, where she introduced herself as the widow of a Spanish gentleman, known to his holiness during his legation in the Peninsula. The Romans remarked, at the outset of her residence among them, that their pontiff's attention to the lady displayed no common kindness; and it was not long before every body knew that the supposed widow and her children were no other than the mistress and the spurious offspring of the worthless hypocrite, who had contrived to encircle his brows with the tiara*. This discovery being once fairly before the public, Alexander made himself completely at his ease. He affected no secresy respecting his amours; and he shewed himself an honest man, at least so far as not to turn his back upon his children. Indeed, to place these fruits of his illicit love in

* Bower's Hist. of the Popes.

a condition of wealth and splendour, now became the ruling passion of his life [p]. He was, however, far from scrupulous as to the means which he adopted for that purpose. As in Jugurtha's time, all things at Rome were venal. The church's highest dignities were shamelessly conferred upon the best bidders [q]. Answerable to this profligacy in public life, were the pontiff's ordinary habits: intemperance disgraced his table; and, advanced as were his years, it was believed that he still indulged in gallantry [r]. To complete the hideous portrait of Alexander's reign, his favourite child, Cæsar Borgia, a son worthy of such a father, was

[p] "Revenge, and every other passion in Alexander's breast, gave way to the immoderate ambition of seeing his children exalted. Other popes, to conceal their infamy, were wont to term them nephews; but he took delight in letting all the world know they were his children." Guicciardini, I. 29. Lond. 1755, Engl. Transl.

[q] "Alexander, that all his actions of life might correspond, this year (1500) made a most scandalous promotion of twelve cardinals; not of such as had the most merit, but of those that offered the most money." Ibid. III. 26.

This pope's shameless venality was satirized in the following pasquinade:

"Vendit Alexander, claves, altaria, Christum:
Emerat ille prius, vendere, jure potest."

[r] It was even believed that this profligate old man held an incestuous commerce with his own daughter Lucretia, and that her brother was guilty of a similar crime. The following distich, written by Pontanus, as suitable for this woman's epitaph, attests the currency of this revolting tale:

"Hic jacet in tumulo, Lucretia, nomine, sed re
Thais, Alexandri, filia, sponsa, nurus."

the most conspicuous person in his court. This hateful compound of profligacy and cruelty was first raised by his father to the cardinalate, documents having been forged to make his birth pass for legitimate; but he longed for grandeur of a less solemn kind[s], and the convenience of a neighbouring sovereign placed it within his reach. Lewis XII. of France had been constrained to marry the unattractive daughter of a predecessor, from whom he had no hope of issue, and in whose place he anxiously desired to substitute the fair heiress of Brittany. But as personal dislike and political expediency were the royal Frenchman's only grounds for soliciting a divorce, Alexander had an opportunity afforded to him, which he did not fail to use, of striking a bargain with the monarch in favour of his son, the cardinal. The terms being arranged to the satisfaction of both the parties concerned; by a stretch of pontifical power, Lewis was then released from his wife, and

[s] "From the very beginning of his (Alexander's) pontificate, all his thoughts were bent upon aggrandizing the duke of Candia, his eldest son. The cardinal of Valenza, (Cæsar Borgia) whose inclinations no way tended to the church, was desirous of making a figure in the military way; and could not brook, that the great preferments in the army should be given to his brother. He was, besides, extremely jealous to find the duke should be better received by a young lady they were both in love with. Incited by lust and ambition, the most proper instruments when employed in the execution of any horrid action, he ordered him to be assassinated one evening as he was riding alone about Rome, and thrown into the Tiber." Guicciardini, II. 166.

Cæsar Borgia from his gown. The former soon married the lady, upon whose person and dominions he had set his heart; the latter took possession of a dukedom, with a magnificent appanage. At length Alexander's detested reign was suddenly brought to a termination. During the heats of August, the pontiff and his son went to sup one evening in a vineyard near the Vatican. Before the night closed in, Rome heard with exultation, that both these monsters were brought home, Alexander dead, and Cæsar, as it seemed, but little likely to recover[t]. On the following day,

[t] He, however, "assisted by the strength and vigour of youth, and by the immediate administration of powerful antidotes appropriated to the poison, saved his life, though he continued for a long time in a very bad state of health.

It was universally believed, that poison was the cause of this accident, which happened, according to common report, in the following manner: Valentino (Cæsar Borgia) who was to be one of the guests, had resolved on poisoning Adriano, the cardinal of Corneto, in whose vineyard the supper was prepared. *It is no matter of secret, that it was a usual custom both of father and son, to despatch, by poison, not only such as they had resolved to sacrifice to their revenge and jealousy, but any persons of great substance, whether cardinals or courtiers, whose riches tempted their wicked avarice.* Innocence was no protection, as appeared in the case of the cardinal of St. Agnolo; nor did they better escape who were their most intimate friends and nearest acquaintance, and some of them, as the cardinals of Capua and Modena, most faithful and serviceable ministers.

The story continues thus related: "Valentino had sent away before supper some flasks of wine infected with poison, which were entrusted to a waiter, who was ignorant of the matter, with strict orders not to open them for any one. The Pope happened to arrive before the time of supper, and being almost spent with

crowds hastened to St. Peter's church, where, according to established usage, their late sovereign's corpse was laid in state, a swoln and livid mass, which, every glad spectator reasoned, must have fallen a victim to one of those deadly draughts that Alexander had been accustomed to mingle with so much skill for those who crossed his policy, provoked his vengeance, or tempted his rapacity.

On the death of this detestable tyrant, Francis Piccolomini, a prelate of unblemished reputation, was raised to the pontificate. He was designated as Pius III.; but his elevation came too late for the advantage of the Roman Church. At the end of twenty-six days after his election, he had paid the last great debt of nature [u]. Intrigue and

thirst, the season being extremely hot, asked for something to drink. The provisions for the supper not being yet brought from the palace, the waiter, who imagined that the wine in his custody was reserved as some of the choicest of wines, presented some of it to his holiness. While the Pope was drinking, Valentino arrived, and, joining company, took a draught of the same wine." Guicciardini, III. 226.

Guicciardini says, of the people who flocked to St. Peter's after Alexander's death, that " they were not able to satisfy their eyes with the sight of a dead serpent, who, with his immoderate ambition, and detestable treachery, with manifold instances of horrid cruelty, and monstrous lust, and exposing to sale all things without distinction, both sacred and profane, had intoxicated the whole world." Ibid. 228.

This able but profligate pontiff, who has been termed, with considerable justice, " the Nero among Popes," met his death on the 18th of August, in the year 1503. Du Pin, III. 456.

[u] It was in expectation of a speedy termination to his pontifi-

bribery [x] then placed Julian della Rovere in the vacant chair. This pontiff, known as Julius II., was a man of humble origin, but of superior abilities; his veracity was strict, his liberality boundless; in purpose, he was inflexible; in taste, refined. When raised to the pontificate, he shewed the greatness of his mind by his superiority to nepotism, the besetting sin of popes. On the other hand, he was haughty and intractable, restless and ambitious, prodigal of human life, a despiser of public opinion, wholly unmindful of his professional character, absorbed by war and politics, addicted to the excesses of the table [y], and disgraced by incontinence [z]. When first he took possession of the papal throne, men observed with some surprise, that the unceasing activity of his

cate, according to Guicciardini, and not from the desire of regaining some degree of respect for the Papacy, that Pius was elected. The historian says of him, "being very old, and at that time infirm, it was presumed that he could not survive for any length of time. He was, undoubtedly, a person of an unspotted character; and, if we were to judge by his other qualifications, not unworthy of his high dignity." III. 242.

[x] "What much more effectually pleaded in his favour, and contributed to his promotion, was the immoderate and unbounded promises which he made to the cardinals, princes, barons, and to every one that could be of service to him in his election, of whatever they pleased to demand. He had it also in his power to distribute sums of money, and to dispose of a multitude of benefices and ecclesiastical dignities both of his own and of others." Du Pin, III. 253.

[y] Ibid. IV. 28.

[z] He had a daughter, named Felicia, married to John Jordan Orsini. Note to Guicciardini, V. 269.

former life appeared to have subsided into the dignified tranquillity befitting his station; but this sudden alteration in his habits was soon seen to be no more than a temporary breathing space until he felt himself sufficiently strong in the golden sinews of war. Then, in concert with France and Austria, he formed a league at Cambray, for the purpose of humbling the princely merchants of Venice. In vain did that opulent community, wholly unable to withstand the united force of such powerful states, implore the favourable consideration of his holiness. Julius kept his troops in motion, and harassed the republic by the terrors of an interdict[a], until he had bent it to his purpose. Then, indeed, the Venetians found him changed. Nothing was farther from his wishes, than to see the ultramontane governments strong in Italy; on the contrary, he had conceived the vast, had he been a layman it might have been esteemed the generous project, of driving every foreign soldier beyond the Alps. No sooner, therefore, were the French and Imperial armies cordially united, and brilliantly successful, than the pontiff manifested a disposition to treat with the excommunicated republicans. No remonstrances of Lewis and Maximilian now availed to keep the papal thunders suspended over the

[a] For which the pretence was, that the Venetians had exercised that controul over their church-establishment, which is the manifest right of every independent state. See Guicciardini, IV. 284.

Venetians[b]. Their ambassadors were allowed to enter Rome with all the parade of humiliation, the solemn mockery of public penitence passed before the vulgar eye, the holy father graciously received his repentant children, their country was absolved, and Julius bent all his energies to dissolve a coalition, which would no longer serve his purpose. Accordingly, he pretended to take offence at some acts of Lewis's domestic administration, and immediately began to thwart his policy[c]. Mere diplomatic vexations would, however, by no means content a statesman of the Pope's active and determined character. He advanced pretensions to some salt-works within the territories of the duke of Ferrara, a petty prince in the French interest; and, upon this slight pretext, the papal forces invaded the Ferrarese. Lewis, anxious not only upon political, but also upon religious grounds, to avoid a rupture with the Roman see, shewed every disposition to make concessions for the purpose of terminating this unexpected difference. But Julius desired no reconciliation with the French, or with their allies, until the Italians were left wholly free to regulate their own affairs: hence the King had no sooner

[b] "The ambassadors of Cæsar, and of the king of France, opposed their admission, (that of the Venetians) putting his holiness in mind, that by the treaty of Cambray, *he was expressly obliged to prosecute the Venetians both with his spiritual and temporal arms, till each of the confederates had recovered what belonged to him.*" Guicciardini, IV. 276.

[c] Ibid. 351, et seq.

offered to give up one point, than the Pope brought forward another [d]. Indeed, he shewed nothing less than the wish for peace; as he excommunicated the duke of Ferrara, the French officers sent to lend him aid, and all who had taken, or should take arms in his defence [e]; and, to crown the whole, the martial pontiff repaired in person to the seat of war. It was then midwinter, and the rigour of the season was such as does not annually visit even more northern climes; but Julius heeded not the weather. His people had undertaken the siege of Mirandola, and he lost all patience at the slowness of their progress. No sooner, therefore, had he arrived before the beleaguered town, than he treated with contempt those dangers, and that elemental inclemency, from which men, peasants by birth, and soldiers by profession, were anxious to take shelter. He was ever on horseback, riding about the lines, animating some of his people, reprimanding others, and, in short, performing with great zeal, courage, and intelligence, the duties of a general officer [f]. He had soon the satisfaction of witness-

[d] Guicciardini, V. 50, et seq. [e] Ibid. 110.

[f] "And to stimulate the soldiers to behave manfully, *he promised to agree to no capitulation, but to leave the town entirely to be plundered at their discretion.* It was certainly a remarkable case, and a sight very uncommon in the eye of the world, to see a king of France, a secular prince, of an age not yet past its vigour, and at that time in a good state of health, at present taking his repose in his apartment, and leaving to his generals the administration of a war undertaken principally against himself; and on the other side, *to behold the vicar of Christ on earth, old*

ing the success of his exertions in the field. The garrison of Mirandola found, at length, that the place could not hold out much longer, and they sent to treat of terms. Their expectations were but moderate. Security for life and property was all that they demanded; but it was more than their pontifical assailant felt inclined to grant. Julius said, that "as for sparing the lives of these gallant soldiers, it was more than he could undertake to answer for." There were, however, those about him, who were shocked at this reply; and, at their unanimous instances, the Roman Church was spared the disgrace of having it recorded in the annals of Europe, that a garrison which did its duty, was put to the sword, under the eye, and with the concurrence, of the reigning Pope[s]. The town being now surrendered, Julius was in haste to enter it; and, as the gates were beaten down, he caused himself to be carried over the wall, into the midst of those who had yielded to his arms.

This siege, and its event, prevailed over the scruples of Lewis, and he gave reluctant orders to make the ecclesiastical state the theatre of war. As another expedient for subduing the pontiff's intractable spirit, he concerted with the

and infirm, and educated in ease and pleasures, now employed in person in managing a war, undertaken by himself, against Christians; and, at the siege of a paltry town, exposing himself to all the dangers of a commander of armies, and retaining nothing of the pontiff but the name and the habit." Guicciardini, V. 149.

[s] Ibid. 153.

Emperor Maximilian, a plan for the assembling of a general council, which should take cognizance of the intolerable scandals lately given to the Romish world by the head of their Church. Certain cardinals, accordingly, met at Pisa, and asserted their right to call a council without the Pope's authority, upon the following grounds: "That the Church stood in the most evident need of a reformation, not only in her members, but also in the head himself, who was an inveterate simoniac, of infamous and abandoned manners, not fit to discharge the office of a pontiff, as being the author of so many wars, and notoriously incorrigible, to the universal scandal of Christianity [h]." Chagrined, as Julius evidently was, by the whole proceedings at Pisa, his resolution did not in the least give way. Nay, when Lewis, distressed by his breach with the Roman see [i], proposed anew to make concessions, such as were far from needed by the posture of his affairs, the Pope immediately rose in his demands, and any agreement with such an opponent, except upon terms to which the French cabinet was not justified in acceding, was plainly impossible. During these attempts

[h] Guicciardini, V. 234.

[i] "He prohibited all demonstrations of public rejoicings throughout his dominions, and oftentimes declared before company, that though he had not transgressed either against the apostolic see, or against the pontiff, nor done any thing without provocation and necessity, yet, in reverence to that see, he was willing to humble himself, and ask pardon of his holiness." Ibid. 239.

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to effect a reconciliation on the part of the king of France, Julius called a council of his own, which met at the Lateran, and which was supported by such powers as were opposed in politics to France. Besides adopting this expedient, the enraged pontiff fulminated an interdict against both Florence[k] and Pisa, because these cities "had harboured the schismatic cardinals attending the Pisan conventicle;" for thus he designated both the obnoxious assembly, and those who composed it: he excommunicated all favourers of the conventicle, as he called it, and declared them liable to the penalties of heresy and schism: he made the most strenuous exertions for the effective prosecution of hostilities; and at length he published a bull against the king of France, in which that prince, no longer styled most Christian, was declared liable, with all his adherents, to the punishments denounced against heretics and schismatics, and licence was given to all to seize upon whatever belonged to these proscribed objects of papal vengeance[l]. The head of Julius,

[k] The Florentines appealed from this interdict to the next general council, and constrained the clergy of the principal churches in their city to officiate as usual. Guicciardini, V. 286.

[l] "He had appointed, that the title of most Christian should be transferred, by a decree of the Lateran council, to the king of England, (Henry VIII. who sided with Julius,) for which purpose there was already drawn up a bull, which also contained the deprivation of Lewis of the title and dignity of king of France, with leave for any one to seize upon that kingdom." (Ibid. VI. 109.) Of all the royal houses in Europe, that of France had the least reason to complain of this papal insult. It should not

indeed, in defiance of age and infirmity, was still teeming with vast and vindictive projects. He ardently desired to be remembered by posterity as the deliverer of Italy, and his spirit burned within him to punish those who had impeded the prosecution of his designs. Nor from his fine abilities, boundless ambition, dauntless resolution, and total contempt for the decencies of his station, is it doubtful that he would have brought new scandals upon the Papacy, had not death overtaken him in the very midst of his turbulent schemes[m], and allowed to harassed Europe some

be forgotten, that Philip Augustus, the ancestor of Lewis, had been very willing to act upon Innocent's excommunication, for the sake of obtaining a footing in the territories of Raymond, count of Toulouse, his powerful vassal, and the resolute protector of the ancient Gallic Church. Nor was the same politic and ambitious monarch at all slow to make preparations against his neighbour, king John of England, when denounced by the Roman see.

[m] "With the same judgment and vigour of mind which he enjoyed before his sickness, (it was of many days' continuance,) after devoutly receiving the Sacraments of the Church, on the night of February 21, (1513,) when it was near day, he finished the course of his painful life. He was a prince of inestimable courage and constancy, but impetuous and boundless in his conceptions, which would have carried him headlong to his own ruin, had he not been sustained more by the reverence of the Church, the discord of princes, and the condition of the times, than by his own moderation or prudence. He would certainly have been worthy of the highest honour had he been a secular prince, or employed the same ardour and vigilance with which he prosecuted the advancement of the Church in temporal greatness by force of arms, in promoting her progress towards purity and spiritual perfection by the milder arts of peace. His me-

prospect of that repose, which, while life and power remained to Julius, was evidently hopeless.

To the eye of a superficial observer it might have appeared that the misconduct of Julius and Alexander had happened at a time when it was little likely to inflict any serious injury upon the Romish cause. The spirit of opposition to papal principles and pretensions, which had made its way among the higher classes about a century before, was now pretty thoroughly subdued, and was again compelled to take refuge amidst the poverty and obscurity of humble life. But in

mory, however, is most dear and honoured above that of all his predecessors, especially by those who, having lost the true names of things, and confounding the distinction that arises from weighing them in a just balance, think it more the duty of pontiffs to increase the empire of the apostolic see by arms and the blood of Christians, than to strive and labour, by the example of a good life, and by correcting and healing a degeneracy and corruption of manners, to promote the salvation of those souls, for whose benefit, they boast, that Christ has constituted them his vicars upon earth." Guicciardini, VI. 111.

Hateful as were the professional characters of both Alexander and Julius, these pontiffs displayed great abilities, considered merely as sovereigns of the ecclesiastical state. Before they ascended the papal throne, the authority of the Popes was much circumscribed within their own dominions by powerful individuals who possessed a local ascendancy. " Alexander VI. with a policy no less artful than flagitious, subdued and extirpated most of them, and rendered the Popes masters of their own dominions. The enterprising ambition of Julius II. added conquests of no inconsiderable value to the patrimony of St. Peter. Thus the Popes by degrees, became powerful temporal princes." Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. Lond. 1769, I. 129.

truth, never was the time less favourable for exhibiting the Papacy in a hateful point of view, than the beginning of the sixteenth century. The habits of thinking, which had occupied Europeans of superior intelligence from the period when they partially emerged from the Cimmerian darkness which succeeded the age of Charlemagne, were rapidly becoming obsolete, and the minds of inquisitive men were diligently seeking new modes of intellectual communication. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks, in the year 1453, deplored, at the time of its occurrence, as an event fraught with incalculable ills to Christendom, had, on the contrary, conferred important benefits upon the western regions. Many learned Greeks were driven from their homes, and reduced to the necessity of earning a subsistence during the remainder of their lives, by imparting their noble language, and consequently the means of access to literary treasures of immense extent and sterling value, to the students of Italy. The solid learning, thus happily revived, soon crossed the Alps; and in every country tolerably endowed with intellectual strength, it gave a new direction to the minds of those men, who think for their contemporaries. The literature of recent ages immediately began to fall into comparative disrepute. Scholars were not satisfied unless when drinking at the clear fountains of classical antiquity. Libraries were ransacked in quest of authors likely to satisfy the more refined taste, and the thirst of solid information, which were now

abroad in the learned world; and numerous works of importance, rescued at length from dust and oblivion, were once more sent forth to instruct mankind. Their auspicious progress was powerfully facilitated by the invention of printing towards the middle of the fifteenth century; a noble art, which forms the glory of the age that gave it birth, and which marks a new æra in the history of civilized man. No sooner was activity communicated to the press, than the sound information and enlightened views, by which authors, long forgotten, but now happily recovered from the ruins of antiquity, had once benefited the men of a former age, were again conveyed, but with a rapidity and economy before unknown, into every quarter where their value was likely to be justly appreciated. The unwonted flood of light, which thus illumined the intellectual horizon, unsettled the minds of men, and disposed them to regard with distrust or contempt the principles amidst which their fathers had passed through life. Yet these certain indications of what must rapidly augment the health and vigour of the popular mind, appear either to have been overlooked, or to have been disregarded by the ruling ecclesiastics of the time. While a well-directed spirit of observation and enquiry was arising every-where around them, they seemed wholly insensible to the necessity of greater circumspection than that which had sufficed for their predecessors in a widely different age. Nay, so complete was their infatuation, that this was the very period in which

rival popes and rival councils anathematised each other; in which opposing parties among the hierarchy, with whole nations to support them, laughed to scorn the denunciations and pretensions of each other; and in which the heads of the Roman Church reached such a height of profligacy, that were it not unanimously attested by their contemporaries, posterity would shrink from crediting its details.

When so many circumstances had concurred, of which the natural tendency was to divert the public opinion from its accustomed channels, nothing was needed for the purpose of giving to it a direction entirely new, but the appearance of some genius possessed of industry and power sufficient to command and detain general attention. In the celebrated Erasmus[n], such a genius was revealed. Illegitimacy of birth, the early loss of affectionate parents, the roguery of unprincipled guardians, the forced assumption of the monastic habit, which he hated, the penury which followed his departure from the cloister, discouragements sufficient to break the spirit of an ordinary man, only served to goad on this eminent scholar to such exertions as changed the character of his own age, and inscribed his name upon an imperishable monument of celebrity. Instead of yield-

[n] He was born at Rotterdam, October 28, 1467. His father was named Gerard, his mother was the daughter of a physician of Sevenbergen. Gerard, in German, means amiable; Erasmus, or, more properly, Erasimus, in Greek, means the same thing. Jortin's Life of Erasmus.

ing to an indolent despondency, Erasmus cultivated the ample, in his youth, the almost unbroken, field of solid and elegant literature, with an assiduity that has rarely been exceeded. The great authors of antiquity, and the venerable book which reveals God's will to man, became the directors of his studies; while he turned away, with merited contempt, from the laborious trifling of the schools. Reading so different from that which had been used to occupy the scholar's time, infused into his mind that train of manly thought, which never fails to make its way. Unlike as was the tone, when Erasmus wrote, to that which depth and literature had for centuries assumed, his vein of solid sense and graceful raillery was ever found to elicit general applause. In no instance, probably, in an age when few but scholars read, has popularity been known so great as his. All men, except the pedantic schoolman, or the drivelling friar, were charmed with the refined taste, the lively wit, the important information, and the flowing style, which distinguished all his works. It was true, indeed, that he seldom published without rather undermining the deeply-rooted prejudices of his time; but in this it was long either before he excited suspicion, or before he gave offence. To all appearance, never was the whole machinery of the Papal Church more firmly compacted, nor more efficient, than when Erasmus, by his wit and learning, fixed upon his study the mental eye of Europe. Nor as the scandals and defects of the dominant religion

were sufficiently conspicuous, and acknowledged on all hands without the least reserve; did there exist a disposition among men of liberal minds to discountenance a good-humoured exposure of evils which none affected to deny. Hence, when Erasmus lashed the corruptions which were admitted to exist in the established Church, the gross illiteracy and interested fanaticism of the monastic orders, the lying wonders by which ignorance was beguiled, the grovelling superstition of the vulgar; even staunch friends of the existing ecclesiastical system looked on with approbation. The effects, however, of his literary labours proved far more extensive and important, than either he or his patrons anticipated or desired. By his "Christian Soldier's Manual[o]" in particular, he prepared the way for those views of moral and religious obligation which soon after the appearance of that piece professed opponents of the Roman Church felt it their duty to inculcate. Men were taught, in this treatise, what had been long and shamefully kept out of sight, that not masses, or vigils, or fastings, or pilgrimages, or penances, however severe, are the appointed means of spiritual renovation; but only that holiness of mind, and purity of life, which are not engrafted upon human nature, without a struggle, secret indeed, hence unattractive to the

[o] This work, which was afterwards a good deal brought forward by the Reformers, appears to have been begun in 1494, and published in 1501. Jortin's Life of Erasmus.

inveterately proud heart of man, but far more arduous than any that the mere ascetic ever underwent. Sentiments such as these run through all the theological works of Erasmus; and such sentiments, though distasteful to the superstitious, the hypocritical, the loose professor of religion, and the ostentatious exhibitor of outward mortifications, are so evidently just, that no man of talents can give to them his active support, without diminishing the popularity of any system opposed to them. The religious views of Erasmus, however, were not allowed to depend for their reception upon his individual authority alone. They derived their principal efficacy from his labours upon the New Testament. Of this inestimable volume he published, for the first time, in a separate form[p], the original Greek, accompanied by a Latin translation[q]. This work

[p] The Greek Testament was first printed in 1514, in the Complutensian Polyglott, a magnificent work, and the first of its kind, which has conferred immortal honour upon Cardinal Ximenes, by whose liberality it was undertaken and completed. This Testament, however, cannot be considered as published in 1514. The great work, of which it forms a part, was not finished until 1517, nor submitted to the world until 1522, it being doubted for some time whether, under the actual circumstances of the Roman Church, it would be safe to afford any new facilities for Biblical criticism. Dibdin's Introd. to a Knowledge of Editions of the Classics. Lond. 1808, p. 1. 3.

[q] Printed by Froben, at Basil, in the year 1516. This first edition was put to the press in too much haste, and is consequently inaccurate. Erasmus published, during his life, four other editions of the Greek Testament, the last in 1535. (Dibdin. I. 56.) The urgent necessity that existed for this publica-

gave general satisfaction, in spite of an envious few who laboured to detract from its merits. He farther illustrated the sacred text by a valuable paraphrase[r], in which the meaning of the Apostles and Evangelists is unfolded with uncommon elegance and perspicuity. When these admirable works had found their way into general circulation, a mighty change was wrought in the minds of most reflecting scholars. It was quickly seen that the sacred writers had been misrepresented, rather than interpreted by the scholastic divines, that the obscurities attributed to Scripture had been greatly overrated, and that those evils in the profession of religion which occasioned to serious and enlightened Christians so much regret, were wholly destitute of divine authority. Men pondered the Scriptural labours of Erasmus, and felt ashamed that they should have so long neglected the gold of inspiration for the dross and tinsel of human sophistry. Henceforth more correct views of our holy faith prevailed in Europe; and thus, when the Reformers first attacked the peculiar doctrines of the Roman Church, they found that Erasmus had prepared

tion, is shewn by the following statement. "Pellicanus hath informed us, that before the preaching of Luther there was not one Greek Testament to be found in all Germany, though a man should have offered to give for it its weight in gold." Jortin's Erasmus.

[r] The estimation in which the Reformers held the Paraphrase of Erasmus was such, that in the reign of Edward VI. it was recommended to the English nation by the royal authority.

the minds of men for the approval of their opinions. But although that illustrious scholar lived to see the full effect of his literary labours, he did not choose to forsake the Church to which his patrons remained stedfast, and from which he derived his subsistence. His timid nature shrank from entering upon the stormy sea of religious controversy, and much more from facing that persecution with which the ruling ecclesiastics menaced their opponents *; he was not even disposed to disoblige his exalted friends, or to dispense with his habitual indulgences. His conduct, however, gave to neither party satisfaction. The Reformers considered him as their own, and attributed his continuance among their adversaries to disingenuousness, interest, or pusillanimity. The Romanists, on the other hand, though pleased because he would not desert them, yet thought him bound, as having been mainly instrumental in unsettling the minds of men, to repair, as far as in him lay, the evil that he had done to their cause, by an attack upon the principles of the

* He wrote, "Let others affect martyrdom, for my part, I hold myself unworthy of that honour." In another letter he says, "The Germans had a mind to engage me in Luther's quarrel. What good could I have done him? Two men would have perished instead of one. Suppose he had writ nothing but what was agreeable to piety, it was never my design to maintain truth at the danger of my life. I follow the Emperor's and the Pope's decrees when they judge right; which is piously done. I bear with them when they judge wrong, wherein I consult my own safety. I think good men may be allowed to do so when they cannot do otherwise." Jortin's Erasmus.

opposite party. Urged on all sides by his powerful friends, to give this proof of his sincerity, Erasmus at last took up his pen, and controverted some crude positions which had lately been advanced by the enemies of his Church. It was, however, free-will which he undertook to discuss, an intricate subject, allowing to either party a latitude of opinion without the compromise of its distinguishing sentiments. Thus he rendered little or no service to the Romanists, while his attack upon the Reformers, futile as it was, inspired them with fresh disgust; and when, at length, he arrived at the end of his laborious and useful life [1], this fine genius, admirable scholar, and amiable man, from the want of magnanimity or decision, which had thrown a shade over his later years, had lost much of that contemporary respect which, at an earlier period, cheered his studious hours.

Another author who happily acquired a high degree of popularity in the early part of the sixteenth century, was James Faber, a native of Etaples, in Picardy. This eminent scholar, having nurtured his genius at the fountain-head of knowledge, both sacred and profane, contracted a contempt for the vaunted learning of the schools. Instead of Lombard and Aquinas, the Scriptures and the ancient classics became his textuaries. Hence he rapidly imbibed views far more extensive and enlightened than those which, in his

[1] Erasmus died at Basil, in 1536.

time, generally prevailed. Nor did he think his duty done until he had placed within the reach of his contemporaries that intellectual light from which his own purest and most exalted pleasures flowed. Of all his labours for the benefit of those among whom his lot was cast, no one tended so completely to realize his benevolent designs as a version of the New Testament into his native tongue. Faber's exertions, however, for the diffusion of solid knowledge and Scriptural religion, drew down upon him the active hostility of the interested and bigoted supporters of existing corruptions. The monks and friars especially singled him out as the mark for obloquy and persecution. At one time, indeed, he was shielded from a prosecution for heresy only by means of his sovereign's personal interference. Nevertheless, Faber, like Erasmus, continued to his death a member of the Roman Church; from which, however, by his writings, he moved many to secede [u].

An unwonted diffusion of knowledge, unsettled opinions, and papal profligacy, having combined to prepare the minds of men for a signal defection from the Roman see, that remarkable event was precipitated by the persevering infatuation of those most interested in the permanence of existing ecclesiastical establishments. On the death of Julius II. John de' Medici was elected to

[u] Jortin's Erasmus. Gerdes. Hist. Evangel. Renov. Groning. 1744.

the popedom, at the early age of thirty-seven. As his elevation was not the result of notorious simony, as his abilities were considerable, and as his morals, though far from unsuspected, were less glaringly disreputable than those of his immediate predecessor and some others, he was capable of rendering considerable services to the Papal Church. He is designated as Leo X. He was accomplished, refined, and liberal; one who, as a private gentleman, unless ruined by extravagance, would have been thought superior to most of his station. Had he been, however, a temporal prince, his unconquerable indolence and inordinate love of parade would have injured his reputation. As an ecclesiastic, his deficiency in professional knowledge, his utter indifference for the restraints of his character, the reputed laxity of his principles, his proneness to dissimulation, his deeply-rooted voluptuousness, and his fondness for the society of musicians, jesters, and buffoons, rendered him contemptible, or something worse [x]. By a course of lavish expenditure

[x] "Multa ad Leonis mores pertinentia Varillasius nuper in arcana historia Florentina prodidit, ex quibus, et ex silentio Pallavicini judicium Pauli Veneti de pontifice hoc confirmatur, quod duobus maximis vitiis laboraverit, ignorantia religionis, et impietate, sive atheismo." (Seckendorf. cited by Dr. Jortin. Erasm. an. 1521.) See also Gerdes. I. 66. et sequ. Guicciardini, VI. 311. VII. 168. This excellent historian (VIII. 354.) describes, in the following words, the conduct of Leo, and gives vent to the honest indignation with which the profligacy of his papal contemporaries had filled his mind. "Nor was he (Leo) only most profuse of money, but of all favours which are

in the indulgence of his own taste for luxury and magnificence, by the part which he took in the troubled politics of Italy, and by a spirited perseverance in his predecessor's noble plan for the dignifying of Rome by the erection of St. Peter's church, Leo completely drained the papal treasury. Under the pressure of this difficulty, at the suggestion of Laurence Pucci, Cardinal de' Santi Quattro, he offered indulgences for sale. These were heard of first in the eleventh century, when Alexander II.[y] granted to the visitants of certain churches a remission, under the name of an indulgence, of such canonical penances as might have been imposed upon them. One of his successors, Urban II.[z] granted a similar exemption to those who went as crusaders into Palestine, and subsequently, those who merely contributed money for the conducting of the crusades were,

at the disposal of a pope, which he bestowed so unmeasurably, that he brought the spiritual authority into contempt, disordered the economy of the court, and, by his excessive expences, "brought himself under a necessity of perpetually contriving to raise money by extraordinary means. To this, so remarkable an easiness, was added a profound dissimulation, with which he circumvented every one in the beginning of his pontificate, and made himself pass for a very good prince; I dare not say of an apostolical goodness, *for in our corrupt times the goodness of a pontiff is commended when it does not surpass the wickedness of other men.*"

[y] Gerdes. I. 75. Alexander II. was, after a contest with a rival pope, confirmed in the pontifical chair at the council of Mantua, in 1064. Du Pin, III. 164.

[z] Urban II. was elected pope on the demise of Victor III., in 1087. Ibid. 183.

in this way, indulged [a]. The popes undertook thus to dispense with the penalties imposed by the Church upon men's ordinary transgressions, upon the grounds that certainly the Saviour's sufferings were more than sufficient to atone for human iniquity, that probably the saints had done much more than work out their own salvation, and that the superfluous merit which was believed to have accrued from one or both of these sources, was placed at the disposal of the Roman bishops, who were privileged to confer portions of it upon such as they should choose to gratify by this kind of favour. The offered boon at length came to consist in the remission of canonical penances, the licence to eat forbidden meats on fast-days, the power of choosing a confessor, and a deliverance from the penal fires of purgatory; and a man might buy a relaxation from the pope as to any one of these things, for himself, or for another, at a price determined by the magnitude of the favour desired. It may, perhaps, at first sight, appear no great matter, that popes should undertake to mitigate the rigour of regulations imposed by themselves, or that they should claim the honour and the profit of keeping the gates of purgatory. But, in fact, the course that they pursued, as the depositaries of these privileges, exerted an injurious influence over the morals of society, and was a mere de-

[a] "This manner of gaining money was put in practice after the year 1100." F. Paul. Hist. Counc. of Trent. 4.

vice to bring large supplies into the papal exchequer. A long experience of the advantage last named had, however, caused indulgences to be viewed with a very favourable eye at Rome, and financial embarrassments existing in the highest quarter there, had, by their means, been commonly relieved.

It was ostensibly for the sake alone of supplying funds for the erection of St. Peter's that Leo now offered, once more, indulgences for sale. His principal agent for the disposal of these relaxations among the Germans, was Albert of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg, who selected John Tetzel, a Dominican friar, as the immediate organ of communication with the people. Tetzel filled the office of inquisitor, and was a man of profligate morals, disreputable ignorance, bustling activity, and unflinching effrontery. These qualifications were evidently suited to a retailer of indulgences, and accordingly, this notorious Dominican had been employed in that capacity when Julius II., a few years before, had chosen to fill his coffers by the sale of these popular relaxations. He now again, assisted by the friars of his order, employed with spirit and address the arts which he had acquired upon a former occasion. The press teemed with pamphlets, from the pulpit sounded earnest discourses, puffing off, in no measured terms, the venal powers transmitted from Rome. So recently, however, had contributions been levied upon the people by means of indulgences, that

these draughts upon the inexhaustible fund of supererogatory merit, were far from being in the best repute: but notwithstanding, men are so little inclined to undergo needless mortifications, in the Romish mind is seated such a horror of the middle state, which, as it is believed, awaits the disembodied soul; and those who thought that individuals whom they loved were then expiating their transgressions, were so eager to terminate their pains, that Tetzel and his coadjutors were enabled to carry on a very extensive and lucrative traffic[b]. It appears that the perquisites of these retailers kept pace with the disposal of

[b] "Tetzel had picked up a vast sum at Leipsic. A gentleman of that city, who had no veneration for such superstitions, went to Tetzel, and asked him if he could sell him an indulgence before-hand, for a certain crime, which he would not specify, and which he intended to commit. Tetzel said, Yes; provided they could agree upon the price. The bargain was struck, the money paid, and the absolution delivered in due form. Soon after this, the gentleman, knowing that Tetzel was going from Leipsic, well loaded with cash, waylayed him, robbed him, and cudgelled him; and told him at parting, that this was the crime for which he had purchased an absolution. George, Duke of Saxony, a zealous friend to the court of Rome, hearing of this robbery, at first was very angry; but being informed of the whole story, he laughed heartily, and forgave the criminal.

"The Emperor Maximilian, being at Inspruck, was so offended at the wickedness and impudence of this Tetzel, who had been convicted of adultery, that he intended to have him seized upon, and put into a bag, and flung into the river; and would have done it, if he had not been hindered by the solicitations of Frederick, Elector of Saxony, who happened to be there, very opportunely for Tetzel." Jortin's Erasm. an. 1518.

their wares; for their personal habits were marked by a profuse expence. The tavern, the brothel, and the gaming-table, were often known to occupy the evenings of men [c] whose mornings had been devoted to pathetic declamations upon penance and purgatory. These notorious indecencies gave great offence, but it was, probably, only among those who could see in the offer of indulgences merely a fiscal expedient, of which the Pope ought to be ashamed. By the credulous and vulgar, Tetzel's merchandise was purchased with avidity, and the tide of immorality rolled through Germany with augmented force. For since priestly absolution, extreme unction, and the Eucharist, render those who learn religion from accredited agents of the papal see, secure, in their own opinion, as to the final condition of their souls; to remove the terrors of purgatory and penance, is in effect to open wide the floodgates of iniquity upon a Romish population.

To such minds as had attained maturity, and as were sufficiently informed, unless they were steeped in irreligion or stupidity, it cannot be doubted, that the success of Tetzel's mission caused the most serious concern. There was a master spirit thus affected, and its workings gathered such a storm as scathed the papal church. Martin Luther, born in humble life at Eisleben, in Saxony [d], had shewn a precocity of talent,

[c] F. Paul, 5.

[d] "A town formerly belonging to the county of Mansfeldt, in

which led him to learned labour, instead of that manual toil, to which one, bred in an inferior station, is usually doomed. His profession was to have been the law; but when about to enter on its practice, a tempest overtook him in the fields, and a flash of lightning laid a youthful friend breathless at his feet [e]. The vanity of human hopes was, by this mournful accident, so forcibly impressed upon young Luther's ardent mind, that no persuasions of his relatives availed to change the purpose, which he immediately formed, of burying, as it seemed, his brilliant parts amidst the monotonous austerities of a cloister. He became an Austin friar; but he had not long assumed the habit of his order, before he found, among the neglected volumes in the library of his house, a copy of the Bible. With eager attention he perused the sacred text, and the knowledge which he thence acquired, soon caused the school divines, from whom his notions of theology had been hitherto derived, to sink in his esteem [f]. His talents and learning [g] attracted the

Thuringia, but at present subject to the elector of Saxony. Luther was born on the 10th of November, 1483. Burckhardt's Life of Luther, prefixed to the Engl. transl. of his Table Talk.

[e] Du Pin, IV. 23.

[f] Seckendorf de Lutheranismo, Francof. 1688, 22.

[g] Seckendorf says, that Luther was considered the most learned man of his order in all Germany, and that he sometimes spent whole days over his books without food. Cochlæus (de Act. et Script. Mart. Luther. Paris, 1565, 2.) informs us that many people considered Luther's hours of seclusion, in his monastery,

notice of Staupitz, the vicar-general of his order, who recommended him for a professor's chair at Wittemberg, where an university had been recently founded. At this place the learned friar first taught philosophy, afterwards theology, with great applause; and was, besides, distinguished as an eloquent and indefatigable preacher. While

generally believed to have been devoted to study, to have been really occupied in conferences with some evil spirit. "Multorum itaque est opinio, eum occulta usum esse familiaritate dæmonii cujuspiam, quandoquidem et ipsemet talia de se aliquando scripserit, quæ lectori suspicionem de hujusmodi commercio nefariaque societate ingerere posset." The avidity with which Luther read the Bible, will occasion no surprise when it is known that few volumes were less studied in his youth, and in the periods immediately preceding it. "In a sermon delivered before the council of Constance, a professor of divinity observes, that there were many prelates who had never read more of the Sacred Writings than a few passages scattered in the canon law. Even Luther himself, though a man of such assiduous application, and eager curiosity, was surprised when he discovered the copy of the Bible, to find that it contained so much more than was inserted in the liturgies and breviaries." (Beausobre, tom. i. p. 42.) On this subject the ignorance of the common monks is scarcely credible. According to Conrad of Heresbach, one of the mendicant monks observed in a sermon: they have invented a new language, which they call Greek; you must be carefully on your guard against it; it is the mother of all heresy. I observe in the hands of many persons, a book written in that language, and which they call the New Testament; it is a book full of daggers and poison. As to the Hebrew, my dear brethren, it is certain that those who learn it, become instantaneously Jews. (Essay on the Spirit and Influence of the Reformation of Luther, p. 93.)" Coxe's Hist. of the House of Austria, II. 64, note.

thus honourably discharging his important duties, Tetzel, with his venal indulgences, came into the neighbourhood, and for once the Romish practice of confession proved advantageous to mankind. Some individuals applied to Luther when seated in the confessional, and after confessing iniquities of no common atrocity, demanded absolution. He refused; impressing on their minds, that before such sins as theirs could be remitted, deep contrition must be felt, and severe penances undergone. To his exhortations they replied by producing a diploma of indulgence [h]. Luther cautioned them against a reliance upon any thing,

[h] Archdeacon Coxe has subjoined, in a note, the following form of absolution, used by Tetzel. "May our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon thee, and absolve thee by the merits of his most holy passion. And I, by his authority, by that of his blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, and of the most holy Pope, granted and committed to me in these parts, do absolve thee, first, from all ecclesiastical censures, in whatever manner they have been incurred; and then, from all thy sins, transgressions, and excesses, how enormous soever they may be, even from such as are reserved for the cognizance of the holy see; and as far as the keys of our holy Church extend, I remit to thee all punishment which thou deservest in purgatory on their account; and I restore thee to the holy Sacraments of the Church, to the unity of the faithful, and to that innocence and purity, which thou possessedst at baptism; so that when thou diest, the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of paradise of delight shall be opened; and if thou shalt not die at present, this grace shall remain in full force when thou art at the point of death. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Seckend. Comment. lib. i. p. 14." Hist. of the House of Austria, II. 69.

unless attended by sincere repentance; and still declined to grant the desired absolution. His refusal was then communicated to Tetzel, and that wretched tool of papal avarice pronounced his opinions heretical; adding, that, as an inquisitor, he felt himself bound to proceed against one, who ventured thus to impugn the authority of the Roman see. So far was Luther from heeding this menace, that being unacquainted with the precise grounds upon which popes had founded their power of granting indulgences, he applied himself, with his habitual industry, to the consideration of the question; and taking the Scripture, not the schoolmen, for his guide, he became fully convinced, that the Roman see has no power whatever to remit any penalties or restrictions, but such as it has itself imposed. As, however, his reverence for the papacy was still unimpaired, he did not doubt that the pontiffs had never pretended to exercise any other privilege than the one which he considered was their right, and that the representations of indulgence-dealers were merely the mercenary artifices of unprincipled agents. Having come to these conclusions, Luther scorned to dissemble or deliberate. He felt, that his faithfulness as a Christian minister was at stake, and he lost no time in thundering from the pulpit at Wittemberg, irresistible invectives against the ruinous folly of trusting to these papal pardons, as the means of escaping from any thing beyond canonical pe-

nances [1]. Thus, as a preacher, did he discharge

[1] Gerdes. I. 90. "Myconius is there cited as the authority for this account of the reason which caused Luther to attack indulgences. Father Paul's statement of this matter (p. 5.) comprises the following particulars: "That Leo granted the German indulgences to his sister Magdalen, wife of Francis Cibo, (who was a bastard born to Pope Innocent VIII.) as a return for some pecuniary favours conferred by the Cibo family upon himself, and for his advancement to the cardinalate, by Innocent, at the age of fourteen; and that Magdalen, being desirous of turning her brother's grant to the best account, entrusted the management of it to Arcemboldi, then a bishop, but formerly a Genoese merchant, and therefore thought likely to have some skill in the arts of trade." These statements appear to have been drawn from Guicciardini, (VII. 147, et seq.) and to them father Paul has added, from Cochlæus, "that Arcemboldi, thinking the Dominicans more likely to find customers for the papal merchandize, than the Augustinians, who had been used to conduct that traffic, entrusted the business to the former order; a transfer which so offended the latter, that Martin Luther was induced to come forward for the purpose of decrying the indulgences, which he and his brethren had lost the profit of publishing." Hume, in his History of England, (an. 1521.) has adopted the whole of these statements, so little creditable to any of the clerical personages mentioned in them. The statements respecting the two orders of friars are also, without any ambiguity, adopted by Du Pin, (IV. 21.); but not a word is said about the popes and ladies. Bossuet is more cautious: he too does not mention Guicciardini's part of the story, and he gives an interrogative form to that of Cochlæus. "Mais qui ne sçait la publication des indulgences de Leon X. et la jalousie des Augustins contre les Jacobins qu'on leur avoit preferés en cette occasion? Qui ne sçait que Luther, docteur Augustin, choisi pour maintenir l'honneur de son ordre, attaqua premierement les abus que plusieurs faisoient des indulgences, et les exces qu'on en prechoit?" (Hist. des Variations, Paris, 1718, I. 7.) Dr. Milner asks no questions upon this subject; he roundly says,

his conscience; nor did he neglect his duty as a

" It was a private quarrel between Luther's order, the Augustinian friars, and a rival order, the Dominicans, in a matter of honour and profit, which first occasioned him to commence Reformer." (Letters to a Prebendary, 113.) The authorities cited for this assertion, are Luther's own words, of which the following is a translation: " I call God to witness, I fell into these disturbances from chance, not from inclination;" and the first book of Sleidan's Commentaries, of which work the second paragraph describes the origin of Luther's opposition, in words which may be rendered thus: " He (Luther) being roused by those sermons and pamphlets of the indulgence-dealers, began to admonish people to act prudently, and not to purchase those wares at so great a price, since, what they spent upon such things, might be much better bestowed." In a letter which he afterwards wrote to Pope Leo, " he exposed the unadvised doctrine and rapacious conduct of the indulgence-dealers, who relied upon, or rather abused, the papal authority; he did not doubt, he said, that he (Luther) was charged with grievous faults; but that, if so, an injury was done to him; since he had been compelled to act as he had acted, by the harangues and the very silly books of the indulgence-dealers." (Sleidan, 11.) From these words we only learn, that Luther's conduct was not premeditated, but accidental; and that it was forced upon him by the proceedings of the indulgence-dealers. The particular accident which led to this result is not mentioned, an omission raising a presumption in favour of the statement made by Myconius; since, if it really was something which occurred in his character of confessor, that occasioned the prominence of Luther, he would be likely to avoid such an avowal as must call for the production of names, and expose him to the charge of having abused a confidence reposed in him.

Now, although there is no great need to be very solicitous about the springs which first set in motion the chief actors in the Reformation, provided that the principles which these remarkable men established are sound; yet still it is a satisfaction to know, that corrupt motives cannot be fixed upon individuals, to

professor. He digested the results of his enqui-

whose judgment we have been used to defer. Especially is it desirable to possess this information respecting the Reformers, because Romanists appear to consider, that their best chance of discrediting the doctrines of these eminent persons, is by attacking the purity of their motives. It may then be asserted with perfect safety, that unworthy motives cannot be fixed upon many, perhaps not upon any, of the leading Reformers, certainly not upon Luther. " In the first place, it is not true that the Austin friars had been usually employed in Saxony to preach indulgences. It is well known that the commission had been offered alternately, and sometimes jointly, to all the mendicants, whether Austin friars, Dominicans, Franciscans, or Carmelites. Nay, from the year 1229, that lucrative commission was principally entrusted with the Dominicans; and in the records which relate to indulgences, we rarely meet with the name of an Austin friar, and not one single act by which it appears that the Roman pontiff ever named the friars of that order to the office under consideration. More particularly it is remarkable, that for half a century before Luther, (i. e. from 1450 to 1517,) during which period indulgences were sold with the most scandalous marks of extortion and impudence, we scarcely meet with the name of an Austin friar employed in that service, if we except a monk named Palzius, who was no more than an underling of the papal quæstor, Raymond Peraldus. Secondly, in the time of Luther, the preaching of indulgences had become such an odious and unpopular matter, that the very commission, which is supposed to have excited the envy of Luther, was offered by Leo to the general of the Franciscans, and was refused both by him and his order." Thirdly, Luther " was never accused of any such motives, either in the edicts of the pontiffs of his time, or amidst the other reproaches of contemporary writers, who defended the cause of Rome, and who were far from being sparing of their invectives and calumnies. All the contemporary adversaries of Luther are absolutely silent on this head. From the year 1517 to 1546, when the dispute about indulgences was carried on with the greatest warmth and animosity, not one writer ever ventured

ries upon the subject of indulgences, under

to reproach Luther with these ignoble motives of opposition now under consideration. Even Cochlæus was silent on this head during the life of Luther." (Note to Mosheim, IV. 31.) The negative testimony against the truth of Cochlæus's tale, is, however, something more than mere silence in the works of Luther's contemporaries. Sleidan's account of the matter has been already cited. Guicciardini, speaking of Luther's attack upon indulgences, thus expresses himself: "From these beginnings, perhaps honest, or at least from the *just* occasion that was given to him, in some measure excusable." Now the noble historian surely would never have designated Luther's first steps as *honest*, *just*, and *excusable*, if he had ever heard of their being a mere ebullition of interested jealousy. Guicciardini, it is to be remembered, calls the Reformer's doctrine, "a pestiferous poison." Our countryman Foxe, in his "Acts and Monuments," gives no hint of this accusation against Luther, as he most probably would have done, had he ever heard of it; since it is his way to insert the offensive statements of the Romanists, and then to render them ridiculous by some biting sarcasm. He, however, after mentioning Tetzel's preaching, merely says, "Luther, much moved by the blasphemous sermons of this shameless friar, and having his heart earnestly bent with ardent desire to maintain true religion, published certain propositions concerning indulgences." The discreditable motives commonly assigned to the first steps in the Reformation, must therefore be wholly rejected, as mere calumnies invented after the time to which they refer.

Dr. Robertson, in a note to his Charles V. (II. 86.) has also shewn, that the grant said to have been made by Leo to his sister, has not been found, although a search has been made for that purpose among the papal archives. It is time, therefore, that these tales should be abandoned; but if the Romanists cannot make up their minds to part with the quarrel between the rival orders of friars, it is fit that they should be reminded of the pope who kept a mistress, of the young gentleman who was made a cardinal at fourteen, and of the lady who was appointed door-

ninety-five heads, which he published [k], with a declaration that he should appear on a given day, prepared to maintain openly, against any opponent, the positions which he had there reduced to writing; and he invited scholars who dissented from his views of the case, but who were unable to attend at Wittemberg, to transmit to that place written arguments in support of their opinions. He only desired it to be understood, that no proofs drawn from Thomas Aquinas, or any other schoolman, would satisfy him, unless these agreed with the declarations of Scripture, and of the fathers. In conclusion, he said, that in his theses, he affirmed nothing; that he had put forth the positions merely for the sake of arriving at the truth; and that the decision of the questions proposed, he referred wholly to the judgment of the Church [l]. Besides publishing this paper, Luther inclosed it in a letter that he wrote to Archbishop Albert, in which, after representing the infamous conduct and profligate representations of the indulgence-dealers, he intreated that prelate to suppress the pamphlets published by these men, as well as to impose those regulations upon them, which the case evidently required. Of this

keeper to the German quarter of purgatory; relations, coupled at an early date with the legend of Luther's anger, and of which two parts out of three are true; whereas, the whole account of the jealousy subsisting upon the subject of indulgences between the rival orders, is a pure fiction.

[k] At Wittemberg, September 30, 1517. Mosheim, IV. 30.

[l] Sleidan, 11.

letter the archbishop took no notice, a circumstance peculiarly to his discredit; because, for his use was reserved a share of the profits derived from the sale of indulgences in Germany [m]. Nor on the day in which Luther had announced his intention of appearing prepared for a disputation, did any one come forward to controvert his positions [n]; and thus he found himself fairly master of the field.

At Rome the news of Luther's publication appears to have caused, at the outset, no sensation whatever. Leo, probably, viewed it merely as the first step in one of those ridiculous disputes, by which the friars of rival orders were used to relieve the monotony of their cloistered seclusion; and, accordingly, he made not a single effort to heal the strife, which had arisen so unexpectedly [o]. But Germany was soon agitated through her whole extent, by the explosion which had taken place at Wittemberg. Most men of liberal minds and good information were rejoiced to see the exposure of a system, evidently subversive of morality, and tending to drain the country of its money. In the hope of staying the progress of these sentiments, Tetzel published at Francfort on the Oder, some theses in opposition to those of Luther; in which, among other absurdities, the elegant and irreligious voluptuary, Leo, was com-

[m] Gerdes, I. 131. [n] Sleiden, 11.

[o] Leo "called the attack of Luther, the dream of a drunken German, who, when sobered, would, of his own accord, retract his errors." Coxe's House of Austria, II. 71.

pared to the Apostle Peter [p]. After Tetzel, Eckius, a celebrated German theologian, appeared in the field of controversy, and applied to Luther the epithets of drunken, heretical, seditious, saucy, rash, silly, and ignorant [q]. The abused Saxon, in his reply to this torrent of scurrility, admonished Eckius that he had supported his opinions by nothing either out of Scripture or out of the fathers, but merely by the dreams of schoolmen, to which the long continuance of bad customs had given currency [r]. Then Sylvester di Prierio, a Dominican friar, and master of the sacred palace, as it is called, published at Rome, a dialogue against Luther, in which that courageous divine was styled an heresiarch, a mischief-maker, a devil, a dolt, a blasphemer [s]; and it was asserted, that the Pope was the head of the Roman Church, the first and chief of churches, which could not err in things relating to faith or morals; and that the Scripture itself derived its whole force and authority from the Roman Church. Luther replied, that Scripture enjoins us not to acquiesce blindly in any human judgment, but to "prove all things, and hold fast that which is good [t];" that this character can only be undeniably attributed to the written Word of God, and to such things as are strictly in unison with it; that no doctrine, not to be found in the writings of the Apostles and Prophets, ought to be received, however specious it

[p] Sleidan, 11. [q] Gerdes, I. 208. [r] Sleidan, 12.
[s] Gerdes, I. 207. [t] 1 Thess. v. 21.

may be; that those writers upon theology are most worthy of attention, who lived nearest to the apostolic age; and that the credit due to works upon divinity of a later date, is a matter requiring the exercise of a sound discretion. As for Thomas Aquinas, from whom Prierio had drawn his authorities, Luther said, that he made very little account of his opinions, because they were often merely arbitrary, and unwarranted by any thing in the sacred text[w]. Another of Luther's early adversaries was a Dominican friar of Brabant, named Hoogstrat, whose piece was answerable to the office which he held, that of inquisitor; for he admonished Leo to exterminate the adventurous Saxon by fire and faggot[x].

At length the contest attracted so much observation, that Leo felt himself obliged to interfere, and he cited Luther to appear at Rome. The Reformer endeavoured to excuse himself from undertaking this journey, and requested to be allowed an opportunity of justifying his conduct in Germany: a petition, in which the university of Wittemberg, after highly extolling his talents and acquirements, concurred. These applications, being backed by the recommendation of Frederic the Wise, the magnanimous elector of Saxony, were not neglected; and Luther was desired to appear before Thomas di Vio, officially designated Cardinal Cajetan[y], then papal legate to the diet assembled at Augsburg. To that city

[w] Sleidan, 12. [x] Ibid. 13. [y] Or, of Gaeta.

Luther repaired in October, 1518, and held three conferences with Cajetan. On the part of this dignitary, nothing could be worse conducted than these negociations with the new opponent of his Church. He met his adversary, full of his own importance; and heated with animosity against one who had attacked with such severity the positions of Tetzel, like himself a Dominican, and an individual whose cause had been taken up from party spirit by the whole order of those friars. He accordingly received his Saxon visitant in a haughty manner, and desired him to retract the opinions that he had advanced. Luther replied, that he should readily do that, so soon as he should be proved mistaken; and proceeded to argue in support of his positions. Cajetan did not decline the contest, but he thereby exposed himself to fresh mortifications; for he found that he was no match in learning and acuteness for his opponent. Piqued at this discovery, and at the firmness of a man so much his own inferior in station, the cardinal privately sought to bend Luther to his purpose, by means of Staupitz, the vicar-general of the Austin friars. To the importunities of this valued friend, Luther replied, by admitting that he had not at all times treated the papal dignity with becoming respect, a fault which he expressed himself very willing to amend; and he offered to pledge himself as to further silence upon the subject of indulgences, if a similar forbearance were imposed upon his adversaries. It, however, soon appeared, that nothing short of an

unconditional submission would content the papal party; and therefore Luther, having some reason to apprehend that his person would be seized, abruptly withdrew from Augsburg, having first drawn up a paper, stating, "that the question of indulgences, being one upon which great differences of opinion prevailed among divines, had been agitated by him, as he thought, allowably, certainly with no intention to set up his own opinion against the sense of the learned, and the decision of the pontiff; but that, finding himself the butt of calumny, and perceiving his enemies to be bent upon intimidating, not upon convincing him, he had thought it prudent to retire out of their reach, until his holiness should be more fully master of his case; and that, in expectation of that time, he now appealed from the Pope ill informed, to the Pope better informed[z].

When Cajetan's mode of proceeding with Luther came to be canvassed at Rome, it was generally condemned there as palpably deficient in tact and address[a]. Its result, however, appears to have hurried the papal court into a measure, by which the Roman Church stood committed, and which induced the intrepid Saxon to lay aside that deference for the pontifical authority hitherto

[z] Sleidan, 17.

[a] "The court in Rome spake disgracefully of the cardinal, attributing all the mischief to the severity and base terms used against Luther; they blamed him for not having promised him great riches, a bishopric, and even the red hat of a cardinal." F. Paul, 8.

professed by him upon all occasions. On the fifth of November [b], a bull was published, worded with great caution and dexterity [c], but still so as to prevent the more ignorant purchasers of indul-

[b] Coxe's Hist. of the House of Austria, II. 75, note.

[c] In this document it was declared, that "the sovereign pontiff, as vicar of Christ, is possessed of the power to remit all sins, and all punishments due to them: the sins, by the sacrament of penance; and the punishment, by means of indulgences." (Bower's Hist. of the Popes.) This declaration does, in effect, claim little or nothing more for the Pope than the power of dispensing with penances imposed by his authority, a power which was not denied. For as sins are only said to be remissible by means of penance, a judicious confessor, and Romanists do nothing connected with religion without a confessor, had an opportunity afforded to him of explaining this alleged sacrament to a penitent of discrimination, so as to make it appear that his holiness undertook no more than to pronounce the pardon of those who truly repent, and to release them from the censures of the Church. But it can scarcely be doubted, that if the Pope's power had been understood as thus strictly limited, there would have been very little temptation to rob Tetzel, on his way from Leipsic. The truth therefore really is, the ruling ecclesiastics connived at the circulation and prevalence of opinions, which they would not venture to justify: they virtually said, *Qui vult decipi, decipiatur.* People were abandoned remorselessly to the probable chance of being entangled by a shameful fraud; but those who were able and anxious to make enquiries upon a subject in which their spiritual welfare was involved, were to be informed, that an indulgence was merely a licence to choose one's own confessor, to eat meat and cheese instead of bread and water-cresses, or to abstain from the performance of some pitiful penance; but that, as to sins of importance, they could only be remitted by means of sincere contrition. In other words, his holiness meant no more by proclaiming indulgences, than to levy contributions upon the ignorant, the weak, and the unenquiring.

gences from imagining, that in their dealings with Tetzel, they had been over-reached. It may be, partly from this act of imprudence on Leo's part, but certainly from a letter written by Cajetan, to excite his sovereign's hostility against him, Luther became convinced, that the papal counsellors were only intent upon crushing, by whatever means, the opposition that had arisen to their practices. He therefore published another paper, in which, after stating that popes, like all other men, are fallible, and that even St. Peter himself had been rebuked by St. Paul [d] for an erroneous judgment, he appealed from the reigning pontiff to a future general council [e].

As the fearful odds to which Luther was now exposed by no means diminished the number of his partizans, the court of Rome still continued anxious to gain him over, and being fully aware that he was proof against intimidation, resolved to try the effect of more gentle expedients. Accordingly, early in the year 1519, Charles Miltitz, a Saxon knight attached to the papal household, was despatched into his native country, with the perfumed and consecrated golden rose, for the elector, as a token of the pope's regard, with a letter to one of the ministry, exhorting him to co-operate with the bearer in putting down Luther, "that child of the devil [f];" and with instructions to soothe and cajole, if possible, the Reformer himself. Miltitz displayed great ad-

[d] Gal. ii. 11. [e] Sleidan, 19. [f] Ibid.

dress in the discharge of his commission: he admitted that Tetzel's conduct had been highly reprehensible, and he even so far succeeded with Luther as to draw from him a very respectful letter to the pope, nor did Leo himself disdain to write in soft and pacific language to his Saxon correspondent. Neither the golden rose, however, nor any representations made to him, availed to shake the wise elector's determination to protect his subject, so long as that individual's character was unimpeached, and his principles unrefuted; and Frederic's situation had become more than usually important, for at this time the Emperor Maximilian being newly dead, the Saxon prince constitutionally acquired a temporary power over great part of Germany, and even had it at his option to mount the imperial throne [g]. Leo was naturally desirous of conciliating a potentate placed in a position so commanding, and the elector himself was a moderate and discerning man, who discovered no wish for ecclesiastical innovations, and whose part in Luther's controversy seemed merely to flow from a conviction that it was his duty to protect his subjects from being tricked out of their religion, their morals, and their money, as well as to shield one of the most learned, virtuous, and able men in his dominions from falling the victim to interested oppression [h].

[g] The imperial crown was actually offered to Frederic by the unanimous suffrages of the electors. Robertson, Charles V. II. 56.

[h] "Hujus unius præsidio substitit Lutherus. Id, ait, se

But whatever hopes of an accommodation between Saxony and Rome might have been entertained towards the beginning of the year 1519, these were much weakened by a disputation holden at Leipsic, in the course of the summer of that year. There Eckius, one of Luther's earliest antagonists, challenged that Reformer's friend Carlostadt to debate publicly upon free-will. The defiance was accepted, and the disputants, not contented with arguing the point which brought them together, proceeded to discuss the authority and supremacy of the pope. Luther, who was present, was unwilling to enter upon these subjects, but the headlong zeal of Eckius urged him to assert that those who dated the actual importance of the Roman Church from Sylvester II.[1] were in error, as she had possessed

causæ dedisse verius quam personæ. Addit, non commissurum sese, ut in sua ditione opprimatur innocentia, eorum malitia qui sua quærunt non quæ Jesu Christi." Erasm. Epist. ap. Jortin. an. 1519.

[1] Gerbert, who had been Archbishop of Rheims, and who took possession of the papal chair in 999. (Du Pin, III. 115.) It became rather a fashion about the time of the Reformation to date the corrupt character of the papacy from Sylvester; perhaps chiefly because his pontificate occurred about the time of the millenary year, esteemed by many persons so fatally important in the Church's history. Another reason why this pontiff was named as the first in a reprobate series, might have arisen from the recorded prejudices of his ignorant contemporaries, by whom, on account of his proficiency in the mathematics, he was considered as a magician; a stupid charge to which some of the Reformers, in their eagerness to render popes odious, gave new currency. It is indeed probable that Sylvester, by

an authority over all other churches even from St. Peter's time. Luther could not stand within hearing and allow this falsehood to remain uncontradicted. He shewed that men who advance such pretensions on the part of the papacy, have nothing to allege but forged decretals, and constitutions of little more than four hundred years' standing at furthest; documents proved to be spurious or worthless, by the whole current of history during the first thousand years of the Christian æra; by Scripture; and by the first Nicene Council, so highly celebrated in the annals of the Church. As for the allegation, that the Roman Church is the mother of all others, Luther demonstrated its absurdity by making it appear that the Gospel was widely spread, at least twenty years before St. Peter could have founded a church at Rome. After this historical argument, which must have impressed nine hearers out of ten with a conviction that the Church of Rome is neither the mother nor the mistress of all churches; the two disputants proceeded to argue upon purgatory, indulgences, penance, and the extent of priestly power. As these famous disputations were conducted before

his shrewdness and political tact, might have done something, during his short pontificate, towards laying the foundations of that ascendancy which the Roman see attained before the end of the eleventh century. His disposition to uphold the inviolability of the episcopate; is shewn by one of his decrees adjudging the man who should imprison a bishop to be torn to pieces by wild horses. Usser. de Success. 41.

a very numerous auditory, and written accounts of them soon sent into circulation, they inflicted a serious injury upon the Romish cause[k]. The learned and amiable Melancthon, who was present, departed from Leipsic, a convert to Luther's opinions, which he had not embraced before; Polyander, who acted as amanuensis to Eckius, during the disputation, was overcome by the force of his adversary's arguments, and went over to his side; and many of the young men, who were studying at Leipsic, removed to the university of Wittemberg, in order to have the benefit of Luther's tuition[l]. Thus, an affair seemingly accidental, which took its rise solely from the forward zeal and vanity of an individual, proved the means of bringing the talents and learning of Luther to bear extensively and effectively upon the public mind. He was no longer known merely as a spirited declaimer against indulgences. Men now saw that the pretensions of the Roman Church were bottomed in delusion, and that many of her practices wore a very questionable aspect.

During the remainder of the year 1519 no event occurred in Luther's agitated life which attracted any particular attention. But the great Reformer did not slumber at his post. His application to the study of Scripture was unwearied, and he gave some proofs of it to the world in a treatise upon the Decalogue, in which he attacked

[k] Sleidan. 26. [l] Gerdes. I. 254.

the invocation of saints; and in a commentary upon St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, in which he drew a distinction between the decrees of the Roman Church and those of the Roman court. He also preached upon the propriety of conceding the sacramental cup to the laity [m]. His conduct in this, as in other instances, was watched with intense interest by that remnant of the ancient European Church, which was rooted in Bohemia, and of which the pious but depressed members were styled Hussites. At the Leipsic disputation Eckius taunted Luther with being a Bohemian, and a Hussite. He repelled the charge as an injurious calumny: "Yet," he added, "it is most certain, that there are in Bohemia, among the followers of Huss, many articles of faith professed, such as the Catholic Church would not be justified in condemning." These words reaching the Hussites, gave to them so much satisfaction, that they thus wrote to Luther [n]: "There are in Bohemia many of God's faithful servants, who aid thee by their prayers both night and day. Be not wanting to thyself. Antichrist has ten thousand ways of doing harm; he ever lies in wait to pierce, by an arrow unperceived, those who are upright in heart. Therefore watch, stand fast in the faith, quit you like a man, be strong [o]."

In proportion, however, as friends to Luther and his cause were arising on every side, did the

[m] Gerdes. I. 256. [n] Ibid. 255. [o] 1 Cor. xvi. 13.

malice and activity of his enemies increase. Eckius, after departing from the disputation which he provoked at Leipsic, full of anger and disgust, had repaired to Rome, and there, in concert with Cajetan, di Prierio, and the Dominicans, he was moving heaven and earth to draw from Leo an anathema levelled against Luther and his doctrine[p]. The universities of Louvain and Cologne first took upon themselves to pronounce the condemnation for which so many zealots longed: but the forwardness of these learned bodies did any thing but service to the cause of the Romish Church. Luther no sooner received the particulars of their attack upon his principles, than he prepared an answer to their censure, in which he argued against all their positions, one by one, and expressed his concern to see such societies commit themselves in a manner so unguarded[q]. Meanwhile Miltitz was unremitting in his endeavours to prevent the farther progress of that defection from the papacy which already looked so ominous in the eyes of those clothed in Roman purple; and at length, in April, he induced Luther to write again to Leo. But the die was now cast: Luther had been long firmly impressed with the idea, that the cause in which he was embarked was not his, but God's[r], a conviction to which every revolving day added new strength: he therefore was reso-

[p] Mosheim, IV. 50.

[q] This was in March, 1520. Gerdes, II. 10.

[r] Sleidan, 16.

lute as to retracting nothing; and, as he plainly saw, that the Roman Church had virtually adopted for her motto, "*Vestigia nulla retrorsum*," he had very faint hopes, or none at all, of effecting any thing by another application to the pope. His letter betrays that feeling. He paid in it some compliments to Leo, which were, perhaps, ironical; but as for the court of Rome, he pronounced it to be more wicked and corrupt than Babylon or Sodom: his present conduct he attributed solely to the officious zeal and personal hostility of Eckius, who dragged him into a disputation, against his will, at a time when he thought only of burying himself in his study, amidst his books. But still, he said, being sincerely desirous of peace, he would cease from giving any farther provocations, provided that his antagonists were reduced to silence; only he desired to have it understood, that he retracted nothing, and that he should not bind himself to interpret Scripture by the rules of any prescribed authority[s].

At length the intractable spirit of Luther, and the importunities of individuals about the Roman court, overcame the repugnance of Leo, and on the 15th of June, in the year 1520, that pontiff fulminated a bull against the Reformer and his adherents. In this verbose, and rather confused document[t], forty-one propositions extracted from

[s] Sleidan, 27.

[t] "One clause which saith, *Inhibentes omnibus ne præfatos*

Luther's writings, were specifically condemned as heretical, pestiferous, scandalous, offensive to pious ears, contrary to charity, contrary to the reverence due to the Roman Church, and contrary to obedience, the sinew of ecclesiastical discipline [u]: the writings containing these propositions were devoted to the flames; the writer was ordered to retract his opinions within sixty days; which, if he should neglect to do, he, and all his abettors, were formally excommunicated [x]. This decisive step effectually injured the cause which it was intended to serve. Luther's was not a mind to cower before the puny artillery of the Vatican. The great Reformer no sooner received the news of his condemnation at Rome, than he renewed his appeal from the pope to a general council; because, that personage had condemned him from his own mere pleasure, unheard, unrefuted, an undeniable mark of tyranny; and because he gave to his own opinions, and to the mere drivelling of human beings, the preference over God's undoubted word [y]. This appeal, accompanied by confirmations of those among his doctrines which had been condemned at Rome,

errores assercre præsumant, is so drawn out at length, with so many enlargements, and restrictions, that between *Inhibentes* and *Præsumant*, there are placed more than four hundred words." F. Paul, 12.

[u] "Without declaring which of them were heretical, which scandalous, which false, but only with a word (respectively) attributing to every one of them an uncertain quality." Ibid.

[x] Sleidan, 34. [y] Ibid. 35.

he afterwards published, designating Leo's denunciation as "the execrable bull of Antichrist[z]." Luther, indeed, had learnt to despise so heartily both the character and menaces of the Roman see, that he published, in the August of this year[a], his "Babylonish Captivity;" a work in which he said that his original veneration for the papacy had been gradually overthrown by the enquiries forced upon him in the discharge of his duty respecting indulgences; but that he now recognized in Rome another Babylon, like its prototype, the seat of a mighty rebel power arrayed against the majesty of heaven. He then proceeded to discuss the doctrines patronized by the papal see, and determined, that there are only three sacraments, Baptism, the Eucharist, and Penance, of which, indeed, the last from wanting an outward sign, and an express institution by Christ, can scarcely, in strict propriety of speech, be termed a sacrament[b]. Amidst these reiterated attacks upon every thing which Romanists hold most dear, their anger found a vent in publicly committing to the flames both the effigy and the books of the bold Reformer, at Rome, Louvain, Cologne, and Mentz[c]. This insult he retorted upon his adversaries, by making a pile under the walls of Wittemberg, to

[z] Coxe. Hist. of the House of Austria, II. 105. This publication seems to have appeared on the 17th of November. Sleidan, 35.

[a] Gerdes, II. 17, note. [b] Sleidan, 35. [c] Gerdes, II. 16.

which, being set on fire, he committed on the 10th of December, before the youth of the university, and a crowd of other admiring spectators, the Pope's bull against himself, and the volumes of the canon law. This act of contemptuous defiance he justified immediately afterwards, in a publication which stated, that there was a precedent in the Acts of the Apostles for the burning of pernicious books [d]; that it was the author's duty as a Christian, and a professor of divinity, to oppose impious doctrine; that he pitied the Pope and his adherents, because they were insensible to good admonitions, condemned the doctrine of Christ, and his Apostles, and urged men into manifest impiety; that people ought not to be moved by the high-sounding titles and pretensions of these men, since it was predicted that Antichrist should attain a large share of worldly power and dignity: and he justified his ignominious treatment of the popish canons by selecting from them, accompanied by an indignant commentary, about thirty sections, either plainly subversive of political rights, or completely in the teeth of God's recorded word [e].

While Luther, by the aid of Scripture, reason, and ecclesiastical antiquity, was shaking to the centre the mighty fabric of papal despotism, cemented by the ignorance, impostures, and politics of more than four hundred years, and by the cruelties of fully three; another divine, uncon-

[d] Acts xix. 19. [e] Sleidan, 38.

nected with him, was similarly engaged in Switzerland. Ulric Zuingle[f], after having studied with eminent success at Basil and Berne, displayed uncommon talents in the pulpit, first at Glaris, afterwards at Einsidlen, and ultimately at Zurich, where he obtained a canonry in the cathedral. He, like all the greatest men of his time, had discarded the frothy subtleties of the schoolmen for more solid intellectual food; and hence his ministerial instructions were conducted upon a plan equally new, profitable, and delightful to his hearers. In his sermons, the declarations of Scripture became gradually more and more prominent, until, at last, in 1516[g], the year preceding that in which the great Saxon Reformer entered upon his glorious career, Zuingle had banished from his pulpit every topic which could not certainly be deduced from God's recorded word. In 1519, he began at Zurich a course of lectures upon the New Testament, in which the several books and chapters of that sacred volume were explained in regular succession, without any regard to those ecclesiastical arrangements, by which certain portions of Scripture were assigned for reading upon particular days. The people listened with profound attention to their admirable pastor, and his instructions soon enabled them to form no incorrect opinion

[f] Born at Wildhausen, in the county of Tockenburg, in the year 1484. Turretin. Hist. Eccles. Compend. Genev. 1736. 257.

[g] "Lutheri nomine apud Helvetios necdum audito." Ibid.

of the faith into which they had been baptized. It was not long before the strength of their principles was put to the test. The check to papal rapacity received in Saxony, failed to arrest the court of Rome in its infatuated course. A Milanese Franciscan friar, named Bernardin Samson, arrived in Switzerland with a cargo of indulgences for sale. Impudence and importunity were abundantly possessed by this wretched trafficker. He could sell, he said, a pardon for even crimes of deepest dye, and at his nod, a tortured soul would instantly wing its way beyond the bounds of purgatory [h]. By such demoralizing and shameless representations, great numbers of the poor mountaineers were duped out of their hardly-earned money [i]. Zuingle strained every nerve to stem this torrent of iniquity and folly. His former labours had paved the way for his success, and it proved considerable. Samson was received in some places with contempt or indignation; and his disgraceful mission, exposed as it was by Zuingle's eloquence, effectually opened the eyes of the more discerning Swiss to the propriety, and, indeed, the duty of protecting their ignorant population from any future intrusions of indulgence-dealers. The enlightened and conscientious divine who has the merit of unmasking this abuse to his countrymen, then felt himself

[h] Turretin. 258.

[i] Samson collected one hundred and twenty thousand crowns in Switzerland; an immense sum when the time and country are considered. F. Paul, 9.

incited to examine, which he did with laborious diligence, the pretensions of a Church that had exposed her soundness to suspicion, by the adoption of such a profligate expedient. Greater learning, decision, industry, or ability than his, have rarely been brought into the field of controversy. The issue, therefore, of his enquiries could not be doubtful. Zuingle arrived at sound conclusions, even more rapidly than his mighty fellow-labourer in Saxony. Soon after indulgences were consigned to merited infamy, the illustrious Swiss Reformer preached against the invocation of saints, against what is called the sacrifice of the mass, against the Romish canon law, monastic vows, the forced celibacy of priests, and a compulsory abstinence from particular kinds of food. He had used his hearers to receive nothing as an article of faith, unless it could be established as such by the authority of Scripture. With this preparation, he found little difficulty in persuading them to renounce the peculiar doctrines of Romanism. His labours, indeed, were eminently successful, for at his instigation, while the Romish ritual was still endured in Saxony, the Zurichers had formally expelled it from their churches [k].

[k] In 1523, Zuingle arranged the particulars of his doctrine under sixty-seven heads, which he defended in a public disputation before the senate of Zurich. That body felt so thoroughly convinced by his reasonings, that he was desired to continue his present manner of preaching, and all other ministers, both in town and country, were forbidden to preach any doctrine which

Thus was a financial artifice of the Roman see evidently adverse to the moral improvement of mankind, the immediate occasion of that glorious revival of Scriptural Christianity among the nations of Western Europe, which sheds so bright a lustre over the annals of the sixteenth century. Two individuals of distinguished talents, at a distance from each other, and wholly unconnected, had become convinced, during the assiduous prosecution of their professional studies, that a religion, avowedly derived only from the revealed word of God, could be accurately understood in no other way than by a careful consideration of the Record, in which the particulars of that word are known to be contained. By directing the enquiries which, as faithful ministers of the Gospel, they were bound to make, upon this principle, so evidently safe, they gradually acquired theological views, simple indeed, and satisfactory, but such as, from the prevalence of a vain and

they could not prove from Scripture. In June, 1524, the images were removed from the churches, and in April, 1525, the mass was legally abolished. (Turretin, 259.) In Saxony, it was not until after the death of Frederic the Wise, in 1525, that his brother and successor, the Elector John, determined upon the formal abolition of Romanism in his dominions. "To bring this new and happy establishment to as great a degree of perfection as possible, this resolute and active prince ordered a body of laws, relating to the form of ecclesiastical government, the method of public worship, the rank, offices, and revenues of the priesthood, and other matters of that nature, to be drawn up by Luther and Melancthon, and promulgated by heralds throughout his dominions, in the year 1527." Mosheim, IV. 68.

disputatious philosophy, had long escaped the notice of the learned world. The headlong profligacy of the papal court gave suddenly and simultaneously to the labours of these two intelligent divines an importance which no man could have foreseen; for inconsiderable and obscure as was their station, they unexpectedly found themselves enabled to undermine a system till then esteemed superior to assault. Hawkers of indulgences introduced their odious pretensions upon the public notice, irresistibly impelling every reflecting mind to look upon the papacy with grief, suspicion, or disgust. Luther and Zuingle could not doubt, nor could such men of sense as watched their conduct doubt, that opposition to the flood of stupidity and immorality let loose by Tetzel and Samson upon society, must lie within the line of every Christian's duty; but the step once taken, and the disposition of the hierarchy to blame though shield the criminals, yet take the profit and explain away the crime, once discovered; neither the bold assailants, nor the more rational of their contemporaries, could elude a suspicion, that inherent rottenness might characterize the system, which stooped to arts so deceptive, pernicious, mercenary, and vile. A spirit of uncertainty as to their religious tenets being thus excited in the minds of men accustomed to consult the unerring word of truth, they anxiously resorted, for the solution of their doubts, to that indisputable authority. Both came, as to the main principles of their belief, to the same

conclusion. An overpowering conviction took possession of their minds, that the Church, which all men allowed to be worldly and oppressive, was of no heavenly mould: not only were her recent exactions found wholly without support in Scripture; but it also appeared that all her most striking and distinctive features were similarly circumstanced. This discovery impelled upon the great and conscientious men who made it, the necessity of raising their warning voice against a large proportion of those usages and opinions which they found established in the Western Church. Their minds, indeed, became possessed of an idea, not only that Popery had corrupted the truths of Christianity, but also that it was a power raised up by Satan to neutralize, or even to extinguish those truths. To the Church of Rome they applied indiscriminately every prediction recorded in Scripture respecting the potent enemies of true religion. The sound of their voice in this, as in other particulars, was soon re-echoed through the whole extent of Europe, and there was not a province of the papal empire, in which multitudes did not instantly and exultingly obey the call to rise and break the bands which had so long impeded the knowledge of God's recorded will in its destined progress over the whole face of human society.

In vain did the papacy, after Luther and Zuingle had reinforced the ranks of its ancient enemies by large accessions from among the great and learned, struggle to regain the ground that it

had lost. The political condition of Europe had become completely changed, and the successors of Gregory and Innocent could no longer, like those imperious pontiffs, shake the stability of thrones. In the lapse of ages a middle class of intelligent and wealthy citizens had arisen, which, by forming an alliance with the crown, enabled the latter to curtail the exorbitant privileges of the nobility. This change was no sooner effected than it altered the position of the Roman bishops. They were not, indeed, among the first to discern what had taken place. At a time when acts which had once been terrible, were become only irritating and ridiculous, they were perseveringly continued. But it was seen, at last, that since turbulent feudatories were no longer at hand to give effect to the thunders of the Vatican, the supposed successors of St. Peter must tacitly acquiesce in the necessity of retaining in a dormant state those pretensions to the right of political interference which their predecessors had so often successfully advanced. The rapid progress of knowledge, and the immediate vicinity of a powerful rival Church, also compelled the pontiffs, after some interval, to relinquish those licentious and secular habits which have covered with infamy the memory of many who once occupied their chair. Thus the Reformation conferred upon Romanism a degree of respectability which it could not justly claim at the time when Luther appeared. But, notwithstanding, the distinguishing features of its character are still un-

changed. It is now asserted as broadly as when Hildebrand held his arrogant and encroaching course, that without the pale of the Roman Church no man ought to be called a Catholic, no man can reasonably expect salvation. Modes of worship, and articles of faith, for which an authority will be sought in vain in the record of inspiration, are yet imposed upon the consciences of mankind. Political pretensions, which all men profess to reprobate, are still allowed to occupy their ancient places among the authentic documents of the Papacy. Imaginary portents, which persons in superior life do not venture to defend individually, are remorselessly allowed to take their chance of deluding the weak and vulgar, who are informed from authority which ought to be respectable, that miracles may always be expected in the Papal Church[1]. The Roman bishop yet exercises the rights of sovereignty over the whole clerical body in communion with his Church; he yet acts upon society by means of organized combinations, under the name of religious orders; he yet continues to render the ecclesiastics under his controul, by means of confession, a species of police every where stationed, and ever on the watch to maintain and extend his empire. That empire he still

[1] "Roman Catholics, relying with entire confidence on the promises of Christ, believe that the power of working miracles was given by Christ to his Church, and that it never has been, and never will be withdrawn from her." Book of the Roman Catholic Church, 37.

affects to consider as commensurate with the habitable globe; so that every man, or at all events, every Christian, who admits not his authority, is considered by him and his adherents in the light of a rebellious subject; every ecclesiastical establishment is viewed as entrusted of right to his regulation; every ecclesiastical authority as emanating justly only from himself; the whole mass of ecclesiastical property, wherever situated, as constituting properly the revenues of his dominion, and as held under a bad title by every man who does not own himself a vassal of the Roman see [m].

[m] "The canon of the tenth session of the Council of Florence defined, that full power was delegated to the bishop of Rome, in the person of St. Peter, to *feed, regulate, and govern the universal Church*, as expressed in the general councils and holy canons." (Ibid. 121.) The food supplied by this universal dispenser of spiritual sustenance appears to consist chiefly in what are called apostolical traditions, a species of husks, far from acceptable to such as happen not to have been duly prepared for them. But no allowance is made for this circumstance. In a Jesuitical formulary, generally admitted by Romanists as an authentic account of their creed, and known as the confession of Pius IV., the individual taking this test is made to say, "I acknowledge the Roman Church as the mother and mistress of all Churches." Now, if people choose to acknowledge the Roman Church as "the mother" of all Churches, and even to believe that such is the fact, it is no man's concern but their own. But those who are not prepared unreservedly to express their conviction, that the Papacy has not any right, and ought not to have any power whatever to interfere with such religious societies as choose to decline its authority, may fairly expect all Christians, not belonging to their own sect, to receive their professions with distrust, and their pretensions with contempt.

THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

DURING THE

REIGN OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

CHAPTER I.

The Lollards—Colet—The study of Scripture introduced at Cambridge—Henry VIII.—His attack upon Luther—The Reformer's reply—Immediate consequences of the controversy—Catharine of Aragon—Rise of the King's uneasiness respecting his marriage—The Boleyns—The divorce—Clement VII.—Orders issued in England and in Spain, in consequence of the Pope's imprisonment—Negociation with Clement on Henry's part—Campeggio arrives in England—The Legates open their court—The cause procrastinated, and finally evoked to Rome—The royal progress—First symptoms of Wolsey's disgrace—Cranmer—He is recommended by the King to the Earl of Wiltshire—Wolsey—Proceedings in parliament—Applications to the two Universities for an opinion upon the King's case—Pole.

ENGLAND, though the native country of Wickliffe, and the home of his earliest disciples, was never allowed, like Bohemia, to exhibit the spectacle of a religious party openly refusing to hold communion with the Roman Church. The sta-

tutatory powers, with which Henry IV. had consented, for his own ends, to arm the clergy, effectually enabled them to prevent the Lollards from forming a compact and conspicuous body. Persons, however, thus designated, were known to abound in the kingdom[a]; but their condition seldom reached mediocrity, and they differed, in general, outwardly, little or nothing from their neighbours. Their chief distinctions, indeed, were a contempt and hatred for the established religion and its ministers, joined to a determination to read Scripture, and devotional or controversial tracts, in their own tongue[b]. But though these poor Christians were insulated, depressed, and often persecuted, a very small progress, or none at all, seems to have been made towards the extirpation of their opinions. On the contrary, it is evident, from the numerous prosecutions for heresy instituted in the first part of King Henry the Eighth's reign, little disposed as was his minister, Wolsey, towards bigotry, that the party hostile to the Church was extensively spread through the country. At intervals some holy and undaunted spirit was freed from its earthly prison, amidst the horrors of the gloomy pyre; and commonly were seen those who, not having dared to encounter this agonising escape from life, had abjured their opinions, and were branded on the

[a] "Britannia vulgo male audit, quoties de Fide agitur." Erasm. Epist. ap. Jortin. an. 1521.

[b] Burnet. Hist. Ref. Lond. 1820. I. 36.

cheek[c], and forced to bear about a badge[d]. Others were confined in monasteries, nominally as penitents, but really as prisoners for life[e].

However, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, there were Englishmen of a superior condition, who became desirous of some change in the authorised mode of professing religion; chiefly, perhaps, from having studied the writings, and enjoyed the conversation, of Erasmus. Among these enlightened men, no one more deserves honourable mention than Dr. John Colet, dean of St. Paul's[f]. This excellent divine and upright man, who studied Scripture and the fathers, in preference to the schoolmen, was himself a fre-

[c] "Their necks were tied fast to a post with towels, and their hands holden, that they might not stir; and so the hot iron was put to their cheeks. It is not certain, whether branded with L for Lollard, or H for heretic, or whether it was only a formless print of iron." (Fuller, Church Hist. Lond. 1655. 164.) Bishop Longland, of Lincoln, enjoined in 1521, that none of these persecuted Christians "should hide their mark upon their cheek, neither with hat, cap, hood, kerchief, napkin, or none otherwise, nor shall not suffer their beards to grow past fourteen days." Foxe, 765.

[d] "The poor Lollards, after abjuration, were forced to wear the fashion of a faggot wrought in thread, or painted on their left sleeves all the days of their lives, it being death to put on their clothes without that cognizance. And indeed to poor people it was true, put it off, and be burned; keep it on, and be starved; seeing none generally would set them on work, that carried that badge about them." Fuller, 165.

[e] Foxe, 765.

[f] Born in London in 1466. Knight's Life of Colet. Oxf. 1823. 7.

quent preacher, and he introduced into his cathedral scholars of unquestionable information and liberal views, to deliver courses of lectures upon important theological subjects[g]: he also constantly discouraged, both by his words and actions, the popular love for images, relics, monkish austerities, and other similar artifices of the dominant Church[h]. He thus prepared the way for the Reformation; and being well aware that the nurse of superstition is ignorance, he nobly determined to devote the ample fortune which he inherited from his father[i], to the endowment of a school, at which sound learning might be taught by able instructors. This excellent foundation, situated opposite to the eastern extremity of the cathedral over which Colet once presided, and known as St. Paul's school, was the first public place of education out of the universities, at

[g] "Amongst whom was Master William Grocyne; whom he prevailed upon to read divinity lectures upon some part or other of the holy Scriptures, as I conceive." (Knight's Life of Colet, Oxf. 1823. 60.) "After Grocyne, Dean Colet procured other learned men to go through a like course of divinity lectures in his cathedral, for which he made them a generous allowance." Ibid. 61.

[h] Among other things shewing the bent of Colet's mind as to the established religion, Knight informs us, "He had gathered up several authorities from the ancient fathers against the current tenets and customs of the Church," 67.

[i] Sir Henry Colet, lord-mayor of London in 1486. His family was from Buckinghamshire, in which county, near Wendover, there are still, or very lately were, some of his name; and in the same neighbourhood, lie estates settled by Dean Colet upon St. Paul's school.

which the Greek language was taught[k]; and hence it may be justly considered as having afforded considerable facilities towards the diffusion of that scriptural knowledge, which, first flowing from the pens of Erasmus and other enlightened men of his time, soon wrought such important changes in the public mind.

After the appearance of Luther, sacred literature obtained a footing also in the two universities. At Cambridge, a fellow of Pembroke Hall, named Stafford, who was reader in divinity in 1524, and in the three subsequent years, attracted considerable notice by substituting the Bible for

[k] Under William Lily, the first high-master of St. Paul's school. (Knight, 17.) "Cornelius Vitellius, an Italian, was the first who taught Greek in that university (of Oxford), and from him the famous Grocyne learned the first elements thereof. In Cambridge, Erasmus was the first who taught the Greek grammar. It is certain, that even Erasmus himself did little understand Greek, when he came first into England in 1497; and that our countryman, Linacer, taught it him, being just returned from Italy with great skill in that language; which Linacer, and William Grocyne, were the only two tutors that were able to teach it." (Ibid. 16.) When these circumstances are considered, it must appear no small honour to St. Paul's school, that it should have taken the lead among places of elementary education, in diffusing the knowledge of a language so important as Greek. This innovation, upon established usage, was also very useful as a precedent; for about Dean Colet's time, several other grammar-schools were established in England by the judicious munificence of individuals; and thus the public mind was solidly prepared for the Reformation. Colet was not spared to see the overthrow of those usages and principles, which he so cordially disapproved. He died in 1519.

the Sentences, as the subject of his lectures[l]. Among his hearers was the exemplary Hugh Latimer, who eventually gained for himself an immortal reputation by his zeal and constancy in the cause of scriptural Christianity. London, however, was the place in which the principles of the Reformation chiefly gained ground. Indeed it was found impossible to prevent the importation of Lutheran books, and thus a disposition to embrace principles at variance with those of Romanism, began to make its way into the better informed circles. But notwithstanding these indications of a change in the public mind, few persons of discernment could have entertained any anticipation of the events, which, after the lapse of a few years, occurred in England; for no prince was seemingly less likely to make a considerable alteration in the ecclesiastical system, which he found established, than the monarch who then swayed the sceptre.

King Henry VIII. inherited his father's throne under a title indisputably good; an advantage enjoyed by no English sovereign during more than a century before his accession[m]. The miseries also resulting from a long series of sanguinary contests for the supreme authority, being fresh in the memories of his people, naturally produced that state of public feeling, which disposes men to a patient acquiescence in a vigorous rule,

[l] Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, Oxf. 1822. I. 74.

[m] Since the deposition of Richard II. in 1399.

even if it degenerate into despotism. In addition to the facilities for the acquisition of arbitrary power, from these causes possessed by the King, he enjoyed a high degree of popularity among his subjects. His person was handsome, and his understanding good; his disposition was frank and open; his habits were dignified by sincerity and truth. He had begun his reign by sacrificing to popular indignation Empson and Dudley, the instruments of his father's extortion; he had lavished, with thoughtless prodigality, the enormous treasures [a] accumulated by that grasping and parsimonious monarch. In temper, Henry was violent and imperious; but this defect, in an age which had not learnt to speculate very deeply or extensively upon the rights of men, was likely to be considered as a becoming attribute of the princely station, and it certainly tended to increase the authority of a sovereign but moderately fettered by constitutional restraints. Besides these domestic advantages, Henry was possessed of a much greater influence abroad, than any one of his predecessors. The monarchies of France and Spain were at length consolidated: hence the sovereigns of those extensive and fertile regions, being no longer crippled by intestine dissensions, were beginning to seek for their own further aggrandisement in the depression of each other. To each of them, Henry was an ally of

[a] "Reckoned no less than 1,800,000*l.*" This mass of wealth was spent in three years. Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 3.

great importance; and thus he possessed, from the altered condition of the neighbouring states, a degree of political weight, which had been long unknown to Europe.

A prince so favourably circumstanced as Henry was, might have ventured, with reasonable confidence, even upon the hazardous experiment of altering the national religion, if his people's voice should appear to approve such a change, or their interest to demand it. But not only did the force of early prejudice, and the dislike of innovation, natural to established power, attach him to the Papal Church; he was also more than usually obedient to her voice from other causes. The minister, who long engrossed his affections, and directed his councils, was an ecclesiastic, an individual certainly little, if at all, infected with sectarian illiberality; but still one, whose personal distinctions and splendid revenues being almost wholly derived from the Church, and whose ambitious hopes all centering in the triple crown, who could not fail to uphold the papal pretensions. Even, however, before Wolsey's administration, the ancient rivalry between France and England had induced Henry to contract very friendly relations with the Roman see. Julius II. in furtherance of his adventurous policy, had transmitted to the English monarch, soon after the late king's death[o], the perfumed golden rose[p], a bauble,

[o] April 5, 1510. Burnet; Hist. Ref. Records, I. 5.

[p] Thus described in the letter sent with it: "Mittimus nunc

which, being consecrated and anointed by the Pope, was considered as a very high compliment by the generality of the princes to whom it was sent. In order to shew his sense of this papal civility, Henry declared war against France[q], and farther espoused the quarrel of Julius, by commissioning delegates on the part of the English Church, to attend the Lateran council assembled by the martial Pope, in opposition to that which sat at Pisa under the auspices of Lewis XII.

Besides being influenced by these various sources of amicable feeling towards the Papacy, his Majesty of England was also disposed the same way by another cause not often affecting individuals of princely rank. His father, sensible of the disadvantages under which he laboured himself from a neglected education, had wisely determined to provide better for his son in this respect; and the royal boy was initiated into all the learning of the schools. As his talents were considerable, and his taste literary, the exertions of his tutors were crowned by success, and he imbibed a relish for scholastic theology, which he retained amidst

rosam auream, sancto chrismate delibutam, et odorifero musco aspersam, nostrisque manibus de more Romanorum pontificum benedictam." Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, I. 5.

[q] "Is nimirum pontifex, qui Cæsari Julio similior cujus nomen sumpserat, quam Petro cujus successor haberi voluit, ut, tanquam alter Nero sedens otiosus, orbem terrarum bellorum incendiis conflagrantem spectaret, regem nostrum literis conscriptis oraverat, ut in oppugnando Gallo sibi non deesset." Godwin. Annal. 1616. 4.

the more active scenes of life. His favourite schoolman was Thomas Aquinas, a Dominican friar, descended from one of the noblest Italian families[r]; who, by his extraordinary industry and acuteness, obtained the highest celebrity in the thirteenth century, when he flourished; and who, by his voluminous works, laid the foundations of the Thomist sect among the scholastic divines. This eminent man, revered as a saint among the Romanists, and known as *the angelic doctor* among the disputants of the schools, had bent the whole force of his subtlety to exalt the papal power[s]; and there were few claims advanced by the popes, which could not be supported by some specious, or, at all events, by some puzzling apology, derived from the numerous tomes of Aquinas[t]. As this schoolman's works were a sort of textuary with the high Popish party, Luther had attacked them without mercy in his "Babylonish Captivity;" and that controversial tract had no sooner found its way to the English court, than both the King and Wolsey, who, like his master, was a staunch Thomist[u], were disgusted beyond measure with the biting contempt poured from Saxony upon *the angelic doctor*[x].

[r] "Issu de la maison des comtes d'Aquin, descendue des rois de Sicile et d'Aragon, naquit l'an 1224." Du Pin, III. 361.

[s] Sleidan, 13.

[t] "Ses ouvrages composent 17 volumes *in folio*." Du Pin. III. 362.

[u] Lord Herbert's Life of King Henry VIII. printed in Bishop Kennet's Hist. of Engl. Lond. 1706. 38.

[x] Our distinguished countryman, Dean Colet, had learnt be-

Impelled by this feeling, better suited to a Dominican friary than a court, Henry determined upon appearing before the world as an author. In reply to Luther, was published in his name, a Latin Treatise upon the "Seven Sacraments[y];" which, both as to style and matter, is a very respectable performance; but it is garnished by some offensive personalities not over creditable to either the author's taste or judgment. We are told, "that an enemy to the Church has arisen, than whom one more malignant could not arise; a man who, instigated by the devil, has gratified his own rage and resentment, by vomiting forth

fore Luther to despise Aquinas, as is seen by the following passage from the correspondence of Erasmus. "I said somewhat more in praise of Aquinas: he (Colet) looked wistfully upon me to observe whether I spoke in jest or earnest; and taking me to be in earnest, he raised himself into some warmth, and said, Why are you so fond of commending that schoolman, who, without a great deal of arrogance, could never have reduced all things into such positive and dogmatical definitions; and without too much of a worldly spirit, he could never have so much corrupted and defiled the pure doctrine of the Gospel with his mixture of profane philosophy? I admired this freedom of Colet in censuring the head and father of the Thomists; and it made me look a little more narrowly into the writings of that celebrated schoolman, which, when I had done, it abated very much of my former esteem for him." Knight, 49.

[y] This work appeared in 1521. It was beautifully printed in that year in London, by Pynson. An account of its contents is to be seen in Collier, (Eccl. Hist. II. 11); but that historian has omitted to notice the King's insulting treatment of Luther: an omission common also to the Romish writers, but injurious to the Reformer's character, because it makes his retort appear more inexcusable than it really was.

the poison of a viper against the Catholic faith. What so pernicious pest," it is asked, "ever invaded the flock of Christ? What serpent so venomous ever crept in, as he who has written concerning the Babylonish Captivity? O detestable trumpeter of arrogance, contumely, and schism! If Leo were wrong in offering indulgences for sale, then also all former popes were wrong; but it is far more likely that Luther should be a scabby sheep, than that all the popes should be perfidious shepherds. This friar," his Majesty concludes, "ought to be resisted with no less vigour than Turks, Saracens, and Infidels; since, weak as are his pretensions, his disposition is far more mischievous than that of any Turk, Saracen, or Infidel whatsoever."

This piece was dedicated to the Pope; upon whom the royal author was pleased to pass the most flattering encomiums, and to whom a copy, fairly transcribed, and splendidly bound, was duly transmitted. Leo, not a little delighted by literary aid and high-flown compliments from a quarter so distinguished, received the gaily-decorated volume in a solemn assembly of cardinals, highly applauded the King's zeal and ability, and ordered that he should be styled in future Defender of the Faith[z], a designation which had been borne by a former occupant of the English throne. Henry

[z] "A title not so much conferred on King Henry VIII. by the popes of Rome, as confirmed unto him. For in a charter of King Richard II. unto the University of Oxford, the same style occurs." Heylin, Help to Engl. Hist. Lond. 1671. 8.

was equally pleased in turn, and the more zealous of his clergy exulted in the mutual good understanding thus cemented between their sovereign and the court of Rome.

In Saxony, however, the royal polemic's work neither was received with any applause, nor excited any apprehension. Luther read it with a mixture of contempt and indignation; and, utterly regardless of the author's rank, he drew up a defence of his own character and doctrine. His opponents had assailed him from the first with a torrent of scurrility, which, as might be expected in a man of violent passions, he had contracted a habit of repaying in kind; and as to whether his assailant was a king or a friar, he gave himself no concern whatever. "His Majesty's discourse," he said in his reply, "was a mere rhetorical declamation, and as such alone would it be sufficient to treat it in addressing the new defender of the Church, the deity just sprouted up in England, had it not pleased him to play the bugbear, and to endeavour, by vapouring language, to make havoc of the serious and the sacred. Upon these accounts, however, it was needful to come boldly forward, and plainly to tell the man who had published such a book, that his conduct did not become a king, but rather some lying sycophant, in whose face must be thrown back again the falsehoods which he has presumed to utter against the Majesty of Heaven; foolish indeed are these, and ridiculous, most truly worthy of Henry and the Thomists. But this is restless Satan's work: he

labours to make us turn our backs upon the Bible by means of wicked kings and sacrilegious schoolmen. The enterprise will not succeed. Those who draw from the sacred fountains of inspiration, will thence derive a strength sufficient to strike dumb the Henrys, Thomists, Papists, and whatever other disgusting spirits of opposition may arise from the sink-hole of impiety and sacrilege. This severity might have been spared, had the attempted mischief been the mere result of man's infirmity; but as, instead of being a casual error, it is a wilful insult offered to the mighty King of Heaven, one of his devoted servants may stand excused in bespattering with mud and ordure his Majesty of England, and in trampling beneath his feet a crown, under shelter of which Christ has been blasphemed[a]."

It was not long after Luther had suffered his natural temper to hurry him into these indecencies, before he became sensible of their impropriety and indiscretion. Accordingly, on the first of September, in the year 1525, he wrote from Wittemberg a very respectful apology to the royal antagonist, who had such just cause for complaint. "His attack," he said, "had been foolishly and rashly made; not, however, so much from the disposition of his own mind, as from the instigation of others, enemies to his Majesty; that, however, he should not have written as he did, had he not been assured by persons of credit, that

[a] Collier, Records, II. 2.

the book was not, as crafty sophists wished to have it believed, the King's composition[b]: he had indeed supposed it to be the production of the Cardinal of York, that object of hatred to both God and man, that pest of the English realm." He then expressed in strong language the shame and concern which he felt in reflecting upon the offensive freedom that he had used, and he especially intreated of the King not to entertain such an opinion of him as might prove any detriment to the cause in which he was embarked; which was no other than to persuade men that they could be saved only through the merits of Jesus Christ[c]. This apology, however, gave no satisfaction. Wolsey was still high in his master's favour; and, what was more, the King himself was in no humour to be deprived of the fame which his book had conferred upon him. He, therefore, repelled with scorn the advances of one who, having grossly insulted him, now came forward to make his peace, by wishing him to admit that he had allowed himself to be made the

[b] The King undoubtedly was not the sole, probably not even the principal, author of this book. "Sir Thomas More, who must have known the authors, gives this account of it: that after it was finished by his Grace's appointment, and consent of the makers of the same, he (Sir Thomas) was only a sorter out, and placer of the principal matters therein contained." (Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 49, note.) Thus it appears that several persons were concerned in the preparation of this noted treatise; a circumstance certainly offering some extenuation for the heat of Luther.

[c] Collier, Records, II. 3.

mere instrument for giving currency to some other man's mischievous sophistry.

In addition to his literary assault upon Luther, Henry waged war upon that Reformer's opinions by other acts, perhaps not more judicious, but certainly less liable to immediate contravention. Wolsey issued orders, in his quality of legate, to all the bishops, that they should hold a visitation of their respective dioceses, and that they should require the people, under pain of being treated as heretics, to give up all Lutheran books. The opinions attributed to Luther by the Pope, and condemned as heretical, were affixed to the doors of the churches[d]. Bishop Fisher wrote a book against the Saxon Reformer, under his Majesty's especial protection. Thus to appearance, while the eighth Henry should sit at the helm of government, any change in the national religion of England was hopeless. These seemingly halcyon days of Romanism, were, however, a mere illusion: the prince whose power was so unusually great, and who had so decidedly committed himself in the papal cause, was labouring under a domestic uneasiness, which eventually overruled his will, and transferred his influence to the party and the principles, once the objects of his marked aversion.

Henry VII. had demanded in marriage for his

[d] The condemned opinions of Luther are inserted by Strype, (Eccl. Mem. I. 57.) and the affixing of them to the church-doors must have tended to their diffusion, rather than otherwise. These transactions occurred in 1521.

eldest son, Arthur, Prince of Wales, Catharine, the fourth and youngest daughter[e] of Ferdinand, King of Aragon and Naples, and of Isabella, Queen of Castile, sovereigns, who, by the union of their respective territories, and by the conquest of Granada from the Moors[f], had formed, in the great western peninsula of Europe, a rich compact and a powerful kingdom. A connexion with their family was not, however, desirable in the late king's eyes upon grounds merely political: their daughter was to bring two hundred thousand ducats as a dowry[g], and could not, therefore, fail of being highly welcome at the court of Henry VII. A gallant fleet brought Catharine in sight of the white cliffs of England, but the winds were adverse, and for a time she could not land; from which delay, those superstitious dreamers, who detect an omen in every occurrence, however trivial, augured the future infelicity of her nuptials[h]. At length, she trod the English soil, and found a noble retinue waiting to conduct her with more than usual parade to London. In that city, in the cathedral of St. Paul, she was married, in all the pomp of royalty, on the 14th of November, in the year 1501, to Prince Arthur.

[e] The other daughters were Isabella and Mary, successively queens of Portugal, and Joan, second in point of birth, who married the Archduke Philip, son of the Emperor Maximilian, and who was mother of Charles V. Herbert, 5.

[f] In 1492.

[g] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 53.

[h] Parker, De Antiqu. Brit. Eccl. Lond. 1729, 460.

He was then in his sixteenth year, the bride was somewhat older. After marriage, the young couple lived together as man and wife during five months; at first, near London, afterwards at Ludlow castle, where the Princes of Wales had sometimes kept a provincial court. At the time of his nuptials, Arthur appeared to enjoy good health, but at the Shrovetide following, his strength began to decay, and on the 2d of April in the same year, he died at Ludlow [i]. The widow's pregnancy being uncertain, no decision as to her future settlement immediately followed the youthful bridegroom's death, but, as a measure of precaution, his younger brother, Henry, was not, at first, created Prince of Wales [k]. At length it became certain, that from Arthur's marriage there were no hopes of issue, and, therefore, the old king, little disposed to allow Catharine an opportunity of matching into some other royal family, and still less so to return any portion of her noble dowry, proposed to find her another husband in his surviving son. With this proposal Ferdinand closed. In vain did Archbishop Warham remonstrate against any application to the Pope for his sanction to the marriage of one brother with the widow of another [l]; in vain did many of the cardinals reprobate such a connexion when its propriety was discussed at Rome [m]. Julius II. who

[i] Depositions respecting the Divorce. Herbert, 113.

[k] Not until the February following. Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 54.

[l] Archbishop Warham's Deposition. Herbert, 113.

[m] Herbert, 4.

then, by the courtesy of Western Europe, was esteemed competent to dispense with obligations of every kind, only saw in the application the means of obliging two monarchs, out of the four in whose movements he felt particularly interested. The desired bull, accordingly, was despatched to England [n], and by it Henry and Catharine were freed from ecclesiastical censures, in the event of their contracting matrimony, provided that each of them should undergo some penance, to be prescribed by their respective confessors.

As, however, Prince Henry was little more than twelve years of age, when the dispensation for his marriage with Catharine was granted, the immediate fulfilment of the engagement contracted in his name was out of the question. The delay gave to his father time for reflection, and the old monarch began to fear, at length, lest, in his eagerness to secure for him influence and worldly gain, he had betrayed interests far more important to his child. Under the uneasiness arising from this suspicion, he caused the young prince, when arrived at the age of fourteen, to make a protest, regularly authenticated [o], against the consummation of the marriage to which he had been destined. Nay, more than this; when the late king was lying on the bed of death, he conjured his son, by all means, to decline the

[n] Dated December 26, 1503. Herbert, 111.

[o] See Collier, Records, II. 1.

inauspicious connexion with his brother's widow. Catharine, however, had conciliated, by her irreproachable life and amiable disposition, the good will of all about her, and thus, when the younger Henry succeeded to the throne, popular prejudices, once entertained against her marriage with him, had pretty thoroughly subsided; her ample dowry, high connexions, and unspotted virtue, caused most Englishmen to view her as an eligible spouse for their new monarch. He himself just then attained the age of eighteen, a time of life when youths commonly prefer females older than themselves, and within six weeks of his accession he made Catharine his bride [p].

Her long suspense being thus happily terminated, she continued, during several years, to live comfortably with her husband. In the course of this time, she was repeatedly pregnant, but one of her children only, the Lady Mary, survived the period of infancy [q]. Henry beheld his sons just shew themselves and then sink into the tomb, with all that poignant grief and disappointment naturally incident to such fathers in particular as have a splendid inheritance to leave behind them. At length, when every hope of other issue from his wife had disappeared, one of her principal

[p] June 3, 1509. The King and Queen were crowned together on the 24th of the same month. Herbert, 4.

[q] Catharine bore three sons and two daughters. Henry, born in January, 1511, lived six weeks. The Lady Mary was born on the 8th of February, in the year 1515. Hist. of England, by the Rev. John Lingard.

holds upon his affections was gone. Catharine also now began to lose something of those attractions which the bloom of youth had once thrown around her: she even fell into an indifferent state of health, and became afflicted with some infirmities; circumstances likely to whisper in the ears even of a husband less self-indulgent than the King, that he had not done over wisely in marrying a wife six years older than himself. Under the disappointment and irritation that he felt, Henry's mind naturally recurred to those censures upon his marriage which he had heard so solemnly passed in boyhood. He now suspected that his connexion with the Queen was sinful, and that the hand of Providence had cut off his male progeny as a judicial punishment. He consulted Aquinas on his case, and learnt from that admired schoolman, that popes have no power to dispense with the laws of God. In 1524, Henry's doubts as to the propriety of his marriage first began to affect his conduct. He did not, indeed, then cease to spend his days, or even his nights with Catharine, but after that year he declined any more intimate connexion with her[r]. In the following year, the validity of Julius's dispensation was questioned with some degree of publicity. The Emperor had engaged to marry the Lady Mary, but the council of Castile expressed a doubt as to her legitimacy[s], and soon after Charles

[r] As he declared to Grineus. Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 59.

[s] Heylin, Hist. Ref. Lond. 1674, 173.

espoused Isabella of Portugal [t]. Meanwhile Henry expressed his scruples to his confessor, John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln. That prelate, after a time, approved and confirmed them. Wolsey did the same. Indeed, he is charged by some of the Romanists, with having, from hatred of the Emperor and the Queen, infused these scruples into the royal mind, by means of Bishop Longland [u]. Soon after the King's uneasiness became known among those most in his confidence, it received farther encouragement from the court of France. It had been proposed to marry the Lady Mary to one of the French princes, but the Bishop of Tarbe, who came over as ambassador in 1527, objected to this match upon the ground of the princess's illegitimacy [x]. Wolsey was accused of having suggested this objection; but however that may be, it naturally added strength to the King's scruples, and it also brought them under general discussion.

Wolsey had, indeed, conceived naturally enough a violent disgust for the Emperor. That artful monarch, aware that the Cardinal held the re-

[t] In 1526. Robertson, Charles V. II. 254.

[u] Halle says, "It was rumoured in London, that Longland and others had told the King that his marriage was not good, but damnable." Holinshed has adopted the same statement. It appears, however, that Longland denied the concern imputed to him in this affair, and said, that the scruple proceeded from the King. Extract from a MS. life of Sir Thomas More, written soon after Longland's death. Note to Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 58.

[x] Herbert, 99.

sources of England at his disposal, had delighted him by a profusion of bribes, promises, and flatteries. Especially had Wolsey been gratified by securing, as he thought, the interest of Charles in his favour, should a vacancy in the Popedom occur. When, however, the pledge was given, Pope Leo was only forty-five years of age, and therefore the imperial dissembler hesitated not to feed the hopes of an aspirant to the tiara some years older than its actual wearer. But it so happened that Wolsey had an early opportunity of estimating the strength of Charles's friendship. Leo died in the prime of life[y]; his place, however, was supplied by Adrian of Utrecht, Charles's tutor[z]. Still this mortification did not extinguish Wolsey's hopes. Adrian was advanced in life, and might not long survive the possession of his new dignity. Thus it happened: but Wolsey was a second time, and effectually disappointed. The illegitimate and posthumous son of Julian de' Medici now mounted the papal throne, and this pontiff, known as Clement VII. afforded no

[y] At the age of forty-six, in the year 1521. Bower.

[z] He was chosen on the 9th of January, 1522. He was of plebeian birth, but was an excellent scholar, and a man of strict integrity. His style of living was so frugal, that the wits of Rome, accustomed to the splendid hospitality of Leo's reign, used to say, "the papal palace is now a haunted house." This worthy pontiff refused to raise his relations from obscurity, and was sincerely desirous of reforming the Roman Church: nor did he ever cease to bewail his unhappiness when he found that object impracticable. Adrian died on the 14th of September, in the year 1523. Bower.

hope, from age or debility, of another vacancy within a short space of time. The English Cardinal now felt that Charles had only sported with his vanity, and he became bent upon revenge. But not only had Charles duped him thus; he had also allowed him to fix his expectations upon the opulent archbishopric of Toledo, and in this too he had disappointed him [a]. Wolsey was stung to the quick by these repeated instances of the Emperor's disingenuousness; and he angrily determined to mortify the pride of the Austrian family by the divorce of Catharine, and at the same time to cross their policy by transferring the friendship of England to the rival court of France. Nor was the Cardinal thought to have entered into this delicate affair without an eye to vengeance of a more domestic kind. Catharine being, in a high degree, virtuous and devout, observed with disgust and pain the levity, and worse than that, the licentiousness of Wolsey's conduct. At length, she could no longer bear in silence the scandals thus brought upon the Church: she ventured to remonstrate with the favourite, and her freedom never was forgiven.

The lady whom Wolsey designed for the King, was Renée, sister to the Queen of France [b]; and as it soon became known generally that some arrangement was in agitation for the removal of Catharine from the situation which she had so

[a] Holinshed.

[b] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 174.

long and honourably filled, the propriety of such a measure was warmly canvassed in all companies. By very few was the projected change cordially approved; and by the females it was loudly condemned. These murmurs reached the royal palace, where they excited no agreeable sensations. In order to restrain, if possible, his subjects from this licence of the tongue, the King sent for the lord mayor of London, and after expressing himself displeased with the gossip of the day, desired that magistrate to use his influence in preventing the circulation of offensive rumours respecting the sovereign[c]. It was, indeed, no more than justice to the French princess, that the King should endeavour to prevent her name from being bandied about in conjunction with his own, since he does not appear ever to have entertained any serious thoughts of making her his wife. Nay, perhaps, it was not until the appearance at court of a young lady, the fame of whose beauty and misfortunes eventually filled every corner of Europe, that activity was communicated to the plans which had been conceived for the repudiation of Catharine.

Four generations had not passed away since the Boleyn family first emerged from the obscurity of a private station. Towards the middle of the fifteenth century, Geoffrey Boleyn, born of respectable parentage in Norfolk, established himself as a trader in London, where he realized

[c] Halle.

an ample fortune, obtained the honour of knighthood, and in the year 1457 served the office of lord mayor. This opulent merchant one of the daughters and co-heiresses of the Lord Hoo and Hastings was contented to accept as a husband; and thus Sir Geoffrey's children appeared in the world with the double advantage of wealth from one parent and birth from the other. Their fortunate introduction to society was turned to the best account. Three daughters married into families of distinction [d]. William Boleyn, the son [e], was one of the eighteen Knights of the Bath created at the coronation of Richard III., and he succeeded in espousing one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, the only Irish peer who then enjoyed a seat in the English House of Lords. Sir William Boleyn's son, Thomas, made farther advances in the career of greatness which his father and grandfather had run before him. He married Elizabeth, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, a peer, in whose person centred the honours and the opulence of many noble houses, and who numbered among his ancestors the Plantagenets,

[d] Sir Geoffrey Boleyn, "was of so large means, that he matched his daughters into the noble houses of the Cheyneys, Heydons, and Fortescues, left his son a fair estate, and bequeathed 1000*l.* sterling to the poor in the city of London, and 200*l.* to the like in Norfolk." Introduction to Cambden's Elizabeth.

[e] Sir William Boleyn had daughters "married to Shelton, Calthorpe, Clare, and Sackville." Ibid.

during three hundred years the sovereigns of England.

An individual, born to affluence, connected too by blood and marriage with so many noble houses, only needed the aid of eminent personal qualities in order to attain higher distinctions than those amidst which he was reared. In the qualities requisite for his advancement, Sir Thomas Boleyn discovered no deficiency. He recommended himself to the favour and confidence of his sovereign, by whom he was, at different times, employed on foreign missions, and appointed treasurer to the royal household, and who rewarded his services by installing him Knight of the Garter, and by creating him Viscount Rochford[f]. It had been for his peace if here had terminated his seeming fortune. But among his children was a daughter, whose attractions urged farther onwards the deceitful honours of her envied family.

Anne Boleyn, at seven years old, was taken to France in the suite of Mary, the King's sister, when that princess left her native land as the bride of Lewis XII[g]. In less than three months, this unequal alliance of youth with age was dissolved by the hand of death, and the widowed Queen gladly repassed the sea, and re-appeared at the English court, the wife of Charles Brandon,

[f] In 1525. Rapin, Hist. Engl. Lond. 1732, I. 775.

[g] The marriage was consummated at Abbeville on the 9th of October, in the year 1514. Lewis died on the 1st of January, 1515. Mary privately married the Duke of Suffolk in the March of the same year. Ibid. 731, 2, 3.

Duke of Suffolk, her brother's play-fellow in boyhood, and now among the most valued of his private friends. The infant daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn did not, however, return to England with her royal patroness. Her parents gladly consented that their intelligent and lovely child should enjoy the benefit of education at the court of France, then the most polished and refined in Europe. Amidst this splendid circle, as Anne advanced towards womanhood, she occupied no undistinguished place. She was attached to Claudia of Brittany, Queen to Francis I., as a personal attendant. On the death of that princess, she was transferred to the family of Margaret, Duchess of Alençon, an early favourer of the Reformation[h]. With this distinguished lady, however, Anne could not have long remained, as there is little or no reason to doubt, that she appeared at the English court, at no great distance of time from the death of Queen Claudia[i]. She was then in the prime of youth and

[h] Introd. to Cambden's Elizabeth.

[i] It has been commonly stated that Anne Boleyn returned from France with her father, in 1527; but there is good reason to believe that she was in England before the death of the old Earl of Northumberland, an event which occurred, according to Dr. Lingard, in 1526. As, therefore, it must be admitted, if Cambden's account be correct, that she was in France for some time after the death of Queen Claudia, which happened in July, 1524; and that she left that country before the termination of 1526; it appears reasonable to conclude, that her return to England took place in the year 1525, or at farthest, in the beginning of the following year. It has been said, that she returned home in the year 1522, but that statement is at variance

beauty, her understanding was excellent and highly cultivated, her accomplishments greatly surpassed those common to the ladies of her time, her taste was unrivalled, her wit and vivacity inexhaustible [k]. Attractions such as hers could hardly fail

not only with Cambden's testimony, but also with what all parties are agreed upon respecting Henry's matrimonial case. In this affair it is admitted, that nothing decisive was attempted until after it was determined to raise Anne to the English throne. Now the King first seemed to seek a divorce in earnest, in the year 1527: it is therefore most probable, that he had not made up his mind to marry Anne long before that year. Nor, indeed, upon the probable supposition that her charms added to Henry's impatience for a release from Catharine, is it to be readily believed, that her conquest of his heart was made earlier than the year 1526: she was born in 1507, and consequently in the year first mentioned, she was only nineteen years of age.

[k] *Sed audi alteram partem.* "Anne Boleyn was ill-shaped and ugly, had six fingers, a gag tooth, and a tumour under her chin; but she was dressy and witty." As to her birth, "When Sir Thomas Boleyn had spent two years in France as ambassador, he found, on his arrival at home, that his lady had increased his family unexpectedly. This Anne was thrust in among his children; but as he did not approve of such a liberty on the part of his wife, he very naturally determined to get rid of her. The King, however, (who was sixteen when Anne was born, and under his father's guardianship,) being found to be the father of the unwelcome girl, Sir Thomas very prudently made up his mind to bring her up quietly as his own child." Her morals proved in excellent keeping with her origin; for "at fifteen, she was engaged in licentious amours with her reputed father's butler and chaplain. In France, her incontinence was so gross and notorious, that she was familiarly termed about the court, the English Hackney. Francis himself also was known to take such liberties with her, as that she obtained the designation of the King's Mule, at other times." Such is the farrago of filth and

of placing at her option a splendid matrimonial settlement. For such an offer she had not long

folly, which Sanders concocted, before the end of the sixteenth century, for the sake of feeding the evil passions of those who hate the Reformation. It would be needless, as it is irksome, to notice again these disgusting absurdities, did not the Romish party, hopeless, it might seem, of any open attack upon Protestant principles, assiduously labour to blacken the characters of such distinguished persons as introduced once more those principles into the higher walks of life. It therefore becomes the duty of every individual who undertakes to write upon the transactions of the sixteenth century, to lay before his readers some specimens, even of Sanders. That writer of a libellous rhodomontade, for his book "De Schismate Anglicano," has no pretension to the name of a history, is still a favourite authority with the Romanists, who gladly adopt such of his statements as are least repugnant to common sense. Dr. Lingard treats the account of Anne's birth, which Sanders published, in the following manner: "I conceive that the extraordinary distinction shewn to Anne Boleyn, when a child, gave rise to the tale that she was in reality Henry's own daughter, by Lady Boleyn. It was published by Sanders in 1585, on the authority of Rastal; and an attempt to refute it was made in the Anti-Sanderus, printed at Cambridge in 1593. Probably the best refutation of the tale, as Cardinal Quirini has observed, is to be found in the silence of Pole, who would certainly have mentioned it, if it had been known in his time." As for the tract called Anti-Sanderus, it is chiefly filled with compliments to Elizabeth, who was upon the throne when it was published. It is, however, well observed in it, respecting the gross licentiousness imputed to Anne, "Aut ænigma quidem est hoc, aut illustrissimum mendacium." And against the possibility of her birth having taken place during an embassy of Sir Thomas Boleyn to France, the tract contains the following declaration: "Non solum historias nostras perscrutati sumus, sed et reconditiora illa monumenta quæcunque apud eos extant qui pristinorum inter Anglum et Gallum commerciorum memorias custodiunt, indagari, pervolvique novimus, et nullum

to wait. Henry, Lord Percy, eldest son of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, requested permission to declare himself her suitor; and, as in point of birth and fortune, a more eligible connexion was not to be expected, the young nobleman's advances were cordially received. Percy's success, however, awakened jealousy in a quarter

vestigium, nullam vel levissimam conjecturam talis cujusquam legationis reperiri." The only embassy to France which the author allows Sir Thomas Boleyn to have undertaken, was in 1519. Bishop Burnet, who appears to have taken considerable pains to ascertain the foreign employments of Sir Thomas Boleyn, says, that he went abroad in the French Queen's suite in 1514, but not as ambassador; but that he was despatched to France in that capacity in 1515, and again in 1527. Upon the whole, we do not need the silence of Pole, and the observation of Quirini, to convince us that Anne was not the daughter of Henry; since he was a mere boy under restraint, at the time of her birth: nor do we need any rectification of dates as to the embassies of Sir Thomas Boleyn, in order to prove that he could not have been sent abroad for the purpose of favouring the King in his amours with Lady Boleyn; for as Henry did not come to the throne until 1509, this supposition will throw the birth of Anne later than is consistent either with respectable testimony, or with probability; nor, again, from the date of Henry's abstinence from a more intimate connexion with Catharine, 1524, and from that of the Spanish objection to the Lady Mary's legitimacy, 1525, is it likely that his affection for Anne Boleyn first induced him to seek a divorce. If Anne were in England during either of these years, which is far from certain, she was then so young, that few persons, who consider the case, will readily believe her to have been the cause of infusing into the King's mind a desire to repudiate Catharine. It is far more likely, on every account, that this desire, having arisen from other circumstances, was afterwards rendered more violent by the passion conceived for Anne.

little likely, it might have seemed, to be thus affected from such a cause. The beauty, who shone so conspicuously in the courtly circle, had won Henry's heart; and when the monarch saw that another was about to carry off the prize which was rapidly engrossing his own affections, he could no longer conceal the violence of his passion either from himself, or from those most intimately in his confidence. Lord Percy was residing in the family of Cardinal Wolsey, which, as the most splendid and polished establishment in England, at all events after the King's, was thought to be a school in which a youth of distinction could scarcely fail of acquiring such habits as befitted his station. Henry availed himself of the opportunity afforded to him from this circumstance, to desire the Cardinal's interference with the youthful lover. Wolsey, in consequence, advised Percy to abandon the thought of marrying a lady whose lineage was so much inferior to his own. The young nobleman, however, denied the justice of his patron's reasoning. He overlooked the wealthy citizen who had so lately rendered the Boleyn pedigree an object of curiosity to any man, and talked only of the Howards, Butlers, Mowbrays, Plantagenets, and other names, of no ill sound to aristocratic ears, which his fair mistress could claim for some of her progenitors. "Well then," said the Cardinal, "I shall send for your father, in the King's name, out of the North; and we will together settle this matter in such way as shall be most pleasing to his Majesty."

The old Earl, accordingly, received an immediate summons to court, and in a long conversation which he had with Wolsey, he became convinced that his son must not think of Anne Boleyn for a wife. On retiring from this conference, he called the young lord into his presence, and rebuked him for rejecting his patron's advice, in language far from temperate or refined. Percy's ill-starred affection was soon after rendered entirely hopeless, by a marriage which he contracted with Mary, daughter of George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury [l].

In order effectually to break the force of Anne's attachment to the heir of the house of Northumberland, she was, for a time, removed from court; a circumstance which gave her much displeasure, and which she attributed, as well as her late disappointment, wholly to the officious or envious interference of Wolsey [m]. At length she was allowed again to enjoy the magnificence and gaiety of the palace. She was placed about the Queen's person as maid of honour; and thus Henry had constant opportunities of observing how much nature and education had done for her [n]. He now

[l] Cavendish, Life of Wolsey, printed in Dr. Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, Lond. 1818. I. 363.

[m] Ibid. 368. Cavendish says, Ann Boleyn "was discharged of the court, and sent home to her father for a season; whereat she smoked; for all this while she knew nothing of the King's intended purpose."

[n] Being returned into England, and admitted one of the Queen's maids of honour, and being now twenty-two years of

became more impatient than ever for a release from his existing matrimonial engagement, and he determined to lose no farther time in applying for the papal authority to dissolve a connexion, which that authority had formerly sanctioned. He could not reasonably expect to encounter any serious difficulty in the attainment of his object. The release of Lewis XII. from his deformed and sterile, though virtuous wife, for the sake of allowing him to marry Anne of Brittany, was fresh in the public recollection; and there was no cause to anticipate that the reigning Pope would hesitate to gratify a powerful monarch, especially if he could do so according to a recent and approved precedent. Nor could either of the principal continental sovereigns oppose the King's application with a good grace, since both of them had objected to a connexion with the Lady Mary on the ground of her illegitimacy. There was also a principle long recognised at Rome, as if for the purpose of paving the way for such applications as Henry's, by which it was provided, that papal bulls obtained under false pretences, might be rescinded [o]. Now, in the case of the dispensa-

age, King Henry, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, did, for her modesty, mixed with a French grace and pleasantness, fall deeply in love with her; and when he could not overcome her chastity, he sought to make her his wife, in hopes of issue-male by her." (Introd. to Cambden's Elizabeth.) Thus Cambden, as does the Anti-Sanderus, considers 1529 to be the date of Henry's passion for Anne; but this year, probably, is rather the one in which the King acknowledged his intentions.

[o] "Upon which foundation most of all the processes against Popes' bulls were grounded." Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 62.

tion granted by Julius, the grounds on which it was founded, were manifestly false; for it was declared in the bull, that the young prince, who was then only twelve years of age, desired this boon of the Roman see; and that the proposed marriage was of some importance, in order to preserve a good understanding between England and Spain [p], two countries between which there was no probability of a rupture. So that, in spite of the infallibility attributed, by some of its advocates, to the Papacy, the received maxims of Romish jurisprudence, did in fact oppose no obstacle to the granting of that indulgence, for which Henry now became a suitor.

In order to strengthen his case, the King commanded Warham, the primate, to consider it in company with his brethren of the episcopal bench, and to reduce to writing the opinion which that venerable body should collectively express. The bishops who deliberated upon this question, unanimously, with the exception of Fisher, determined that the King's marriage was of doubtful validity [q]. Soon after the document expressing this opinion, was signed and sealed, Dr. William Knight, one of the royal secretaries, was de-

[p] "Your petition did further set forth, that to the end that the said amity and good friendship may be still strengthened and continued between the foresaid kings and queen, you did desire that a marriage be contracted between you," &c. Bull of dispensation addressed to the Prince Henry, and the Princess Catharine. Herbert, 109.

[q] Collier, II. 24.

spatched to Rome, for the purpose of soliciting the desired dispensation. Knight's arrival in the former capital of Europe, took place at a most inauspicious time. The Pope was completely at the Emperor's mercy. That monarch's general, the Constable de Bourbon, had taken Rome by assault on the 6th of the preceding May[r]. The victorious commander had, indeed, lost his life at the moment of his success; but his troops entered, and sacked the town, which they still occupied. Clement himself, who had brought these miseries upon the Romans by his political intrigues and vacillating counsels, was shut up in the castle of St. Angelo, and closely watched by the imperial army. Since his confinement in this fortress, he had learnt, with no small mortification, that the Florentines, emboldened by his misfortunes, had expelled his legate from their city, and re-established that republican form of government, to which they were so much attached. He was also haunted by an apprehension lest the Emperor should accuse him of having procured his election to the popedom by simony, and upon this ground obtain his deposition[s]: a measure which Charles had already threatened, and which Clement dreaded to meet the more, because not only had his present elevation been aided by corrupt means, but also he, like Cæsar Borgia, when advanced to the cardinalate, had produced documents forged

[r] The year in which these transactions occurred was 1527.

[s] Herbert, 82.

for the purpose of making his birth pass for legitimate[t]. Upon every account, therefore, the pontiff was anxious to evade any inquiry into the validity of his claims to be considered as the successor of St. Peter; and hence he felt, that nothing short of the appearance of a disposition to submit unreservedly to Charles, was likely to extricate him from his overwhelming difficulties. On the other hand, the Emperor, well aware of Clement's proneness to artifice, and of his unsteadiness of purpose, caused all his motions to be closely watched; and accordingly, when the English secretary arrived in Rome, he was not allowed an interview with the pontiff, or even to

[t] "For though Leo his kinsman, when he made him cardinal, caused proof to be made, that there was promise of marriage between his mother and his father Julianus, yet the untruth of the proofs was notorious: and though there be no law which prohibiteth bastards to ascend to the Papacy, yet the vulgar opinion is, that the papal dignity is not compatible with such a quality." (F. Paul, 42.) The Papacy may, however, be considered as legally unattainable by persons of illegitimate birth, because, under ordinary circumstances, they are wholly excluded by the Romish Church from the sacerdotal office, as appears by the following extract from a rubric attached to the ordination service: "Illegitimi, sine dispensatione apostolica, ad sacros ordines promoveri non possunt." (Pontificale sec. ritus SS. Rom. Eccl. Venet. 1520.) By the 31st canon of the fourth Lateran council, bastards are excluded from benefices. (Du Pin, III. 341.) Bower (Hist. of the Popes) says, that no bastard before Clement was ever preferred to the pontificate; and certainly it seems reasonable, that if such unfortunate persons are to be excluded from inferior preferments, they ought not to be admitted to the highest dignity in the Roman Church.

send any message to him except through the intervention of Cardinal Pisani[u]. Knight did indeed contrive at length to smuggle a secret communication into the castle of St. Angelo[x]: but Clement possessed not the spirit to fly in the Emperor's face. Charles had not only required him to grant no facilities for divorcing his aunt, but also to refuse permission for the trial of the King's cause within the English dominions[y]: and no mandate from the imperial court did the encaged pontiff dare openly to disobey.

When the news of Clement's disaster arrived in England, Henry was highly pleased; thinking that an opportunity was thus afforded to him of rendering such services to the Roman see as would place it wholly at his devotion[z]. But as it was not decent to discover any joy on hearing of another's troubles, especially of troubles which had befallen a personage deemed sacred, the intelligence from Italy was received by the English court with an air of grief and consternation. The imperial minister applied for an audience, but was refused; Charles despatched to England a letter exculpatory of his own conduct in the sacking of Rome; but of this communication no notice was taken[a]. In order to keep up appear-

[u] "As I find by an original despatch of Dr. Knight, dated from Rome, September 13, 1527." Herbert, 100.

[x] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 74.

[y] Knight's despatch, dated January 1, 1528. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, I. 32.

[z] Godwin, Annal. 34.

[a] Speed.

ances still more completely, Wolsey, by his legatine authority, transmitted orders throughout England, enjoining that, for the purpose of propitiating the wrath of Heaven in the Pope's behalf, solemn processions should move along the churches, a rigorous fast should be kept on every other day, and assiduous endeavours should be made to press the supplications of the people upon the Virgin, and other defunct individuals, who pass for saints among the Romanists. Respecting the degree of obedience paid to the first and third of these injunctions, we are not informed: as for the second, we are told, "Few men fasted; for the priests said, that their commandment was to exhort the lay people to fast, and not to fast themselves; and the lay people said, that the priests should fast first, because the very cause of the fasting was for a priest: but none of both almost fasted [b]." While the mockery of grief was thus prescribed to the nation, Wolsey was preparing for a journey to the continent, in order to have an interview with the King of France, and to concert with him a plan of operations against the Emperor. In spite of his holiness's afflictions, the lordly cardinal travelled to the coast in his accustomed state. Several persons of distinction were in his suite, and nearly one thousand horse formed his escort [c]. He did not, however, entirely forget, that the season of his journey was one marked out for national humiliation. At

[b] Halle. [c] Godwin. Annal. 34.

Canterbury he stopped to hear mass in the cathedral; and before the choir-door of that noble church, while the monks sang the litany, he knelt upon a stool, "weeping bitterly for heaviness to see the Pope in such calamity and danger of the lance-knights [d]."

While this farce was being acted in England, the Emperor was similarly employed in Spain. He feigned the utmost concern on hearing of the decisive blow which his troops had struck. He was at Valladolid when the joyful news from Rome arrived; and, to increase his satisfaction, his empress had just presented him with an heir. Whatever the Spaniards might think of their countrymen's success at Rome, they could not hear without lively joy of the increase which their monarch's family had received; and they prepared to celebrate an event so important to the nation, by dramatic entertainments, feasting, and pageantry. Charles, however, himself repressed the joyous impulse of his people; he ordered the scaffolds, erected for the purposes of festivity, to be taken down, and his court to assume an aspect more gloomy than princes generally would think it prudent to allow, even if they had sustained a signal defeat. Nor was this hypocrisy confined to dumb show. The papal nuncio intreated Charles to send an order for his master's release. He succeeded in obtaining no such order; but he was informed, that his imperial Majesty desired

[d] Stow.

Clement's release more than those who applied to him for it[e]. Not contented with thus pretending to have no power over his own troops, Charles ordered the Spanish clergy to insert in their litanies the same supplications that were pealing through the vaulted aisles in England[f]; and the subjects of the monarch, whose army held the Pope in durance, were soon employed in calling upon the deceased personages who compose the motley groupe which figures in the Romish calendar, for their interference in favour of the tri-crowned dignitary who dispenses saintly honours. The concern, however, displayed in Spain for the sufferings of Clement, by no means accelerated his release. He was shut up during seven months in the castle of St. Angelo, and he found no hope of egress from that citadel, until the imperial objects were fully secured.

Towards the close of the year, an accommodation was effected between the Emperor and the Pope; when the latter, impatient to regain his liberty, did not wait until the usual forms of diplomacy were completed, but withdrew in disguise[g], from the straitened quarters of which he had been so long the unwilling occupant. His first resting-place appears to have been an old ruinous monastery at Orvieto, whither Secretary Knight followed him without loss of time. Clement at once acknowledged to that gentleman his obliga-

[e] Bower.

[f] "Ironically, as most men conceived it." Herbert, 87.

[g] On the 8th of December. Bower.

tions to the King of England, and professed his desire to gratify so kind a friend; but he urged that he was not even yet a free agent; and, amidst sighs and tears, he expressed his earnest hopes that he should not be driven with needless haste into measures, which, if too precipitately undertaken, might ruin him irretrievably [h]. In fine, it was found impossible to obtain from Clement any definite promise whatever; but he told Casali, one of the English agents, that, in his private opinion, the best course for the King to take, would be to espouse another wife, and then to commence a suit for the dissolution of his former marriage [i].

As, however, a matrimonial engagement formed under such a doubtful sanction, was not likely to prove less objectionable than the one which now rendered him uneasy, the King paid no attention to the Pope's insidious proposal, and resolved to renew his solicitations for a regular divorce. For this purpose Stephen Gardiner, then familiarly called Dr. Stephens, and employed by Wolsey as his principal secretary; and Edward Fox, provost of King's College, in Cambridge, and almoner to the King, were despatched into Italy, in February, 1528. In their way they were instructed to solicit an audience of Francis, in order to secure his influence with the Pope. This was rea-

[h] Knight's despatch, dated Rome, January 1, 1528. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, I. 32.

[i] Casali's despatch from Orvieto, dated January 13, 1528. Ibid. 37.

dily promised by the French monarch; and after a short delay at his court, the two Englishmen proceeded on their journey. They found Clement still at Orvieto, wretchedly accommodated [k], and labouring under great anxiety respecting the final adjustment of his affairs. Accordingly, his caution and apprehensions effectually deterred him from giving full satisfaction to Henry's messengers. However, after many delays and evasions, hearing that the French had gained some advantages in Naples [l], he was so far emboldened as to take a step which wore the appearance of placing the King's business in a train for adjudication. He granted a commission to the Cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio, to try the cause in England. With this arrangement Henry was satisfied, for he doubted not that both the commissioners were in his interest. Upon Wolsey, indeed, he could hardly fail to reckon; and Campeggio was no stranger to him. That dignified ecclesiastic had been in England ten years before, with a view to raise contributions, ostensibly for an armament against the Turks; and he had given so much satisfaction by his mode of conducting this mission, that the King soon after conferred upon him the opulent bishopric of Salisbury [m].

[k] "His outward chamber altogether unfurnished, and his bed-chamber hangings, together with his bed, valued by them, as the original letter hath it, at not more than twenty nobles." Herbert, 100.

[l] Ibid. 101.

[m] In 1524. Godwin, De Præsulibus, Lond. 1743. 353.

Clement however having, by his commission to the two cardinals, gained a respite from Henry's importunities, was in no hurry to commit himself any farther. His object was now merely to gain time, in order that he might take advantage of every contingency. Campeggio, therefore, lingered at Rome as long as he could with any decency; and when at last he found himself obliged to begin his journey, he travelled in the most leisurely manner. In October he reached London, where he was received with considerable parade, an honour which, being crippled by the gout, he would gladly have declined. He was lodged at Bath place, on the western side of Temple Bar; and shortly after his arrival there, he was admitted to a formal interview with the King at the palace of Bridewell. He was then unable to stand, and was therefore carried into the royal presence in a chair covered with crimson velvet. To the people generally his visit was far from welcome, as it was commonly said, that he had come over merely for the sake of enabling the King to gratify his own inclinations by marrying a new wife. However, Campeggio himself discovered no impatience to encourage such feelings in his Majesty's breast; for the ceremony of his introduction at court was no sooner concluded, than his secretary stepped forward; and, to the surprise of all present, delivered a florid harangue in Latin, which appeared "more eloquent than true",[a]

[a] Halle.

depicting the miseries undergone at Rome during the recent sacking and occupation of that city by the Imperialists. In strict unison with this unexpected opening of his mission, did the foreign cardinal, for Wolsey seemed merely passive, make such movements as from time to time were thrust upon him, in order to save appearances. He advised the King to continue his cohabitation with Catharine. To the Queen he suggested, that it would be prudent and amiable on her part to yield to the storm, and voluntarily to retire into a convent [o]. This language was any thing rather than agreeable to either party; but it answered the end proposed by it, that of gaining time until the Pope could effect a satisfactory arrangement with the Emperor. Henry, however, bore this procrastination with extreme impatience; he pressed the legates to enter upon the formal adjudication of his case; alleging, that he was troubled in conscience respecting the lawfulness of his connexion with Catharine; whom he eulogised in warm and affectionate terms [p]. The Queen, on the other hand, refused to compromise her pretensions in any manner whatever, resolutely maintaining, that if there ever had existed any grounds of objection to her actual marriage, these were wholly removed by the Pope's dispensation.

Finding, therefore, that there was no hope of effecting an accommodation between the royal pair, and every subterfuge being exhausted, the

[o] Herbert, 103. [p] Halle.

two cardinals were at length driven to the necessity of opening their court. The place appropriated to this purpose was a large hall belonging to the Dominican, or Black Friars, in London, and called the Parliament chamber, from its having been used occasionally by the great council of the nation. Thither the legates repaired in due form on the 31st of May, 1529, when after transacting some routine business, they cited the royal parties in the suit to appear before them on the 18th of the following month, and then adjourned to that day. When it arrived, the King appeared by his proctors, the Queen in person; and she then protested against the competency of the legates to try the cause, as being already evoked to Rome by the Pope[q]; an object which, indeed, the Emperor was straining every nerve to effect, and which Catharine asserted she could prove had been already effected, if the indulgence of a few days were allowed to her. In consequence of her representations, the court was adjourned until the 21st of the month, when Catharine again made her appearance, as did the King in person[r].

[q] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 112.

[r] Polydore Vergil says, that both the distinguished parties to the suit appeared in court, with reluctance; but this could hardly be true, as it respects the King. Lord Herbert, not finding any authentic account of the transactions on the 21st of June, makes no mention of it, and concludes that the account given by the older writers of the appearance of the King and the Queen together, is worthy of no reliance. Bishop Burnet, however, has printed (Records I. 114,) a Letter from the King

Notice of the evocation so anxiously expected by the Queen, not having, however, arrived; when her name was called, she merely stepped forward, threw herself at Henry's feet, and made a pathetic appeal to his honour and feelings[s]. She then left the court. On her departure, Henry publicly bore testimony to her distinguished excellencies, and declared, that nothing but the uneasiness of his own conscience, and the doubts advanced by foreign powers as to the legitimacy of his daughter, would ever have allowed him to take a step which must wound the feelings of one who had so many claims upon his affectionate regard[t]. Wolsey then arose, and intreated his

to his ambassadors at Rome, dated June 23d, 1529, which renders certain the presence of both himself and Catharine in court on the 21st of that month.

[s] Halle.

[t] Polydore says, that Henry's conduct in this affair arose merely from a desire to leave the succession to the throne undisputed. "*Rex qui omnia bona fide agebat*, quo veritas causæ in lucem proferretur, et ita posteritati regum legitimæ consuleretur." (Anglic. Hist. Basil, 1570.) Dr. Lingard's account, however, is, that "Anne Boleyn might attribute to her charms the elevation of her father to the Viscounty of Rochford; that the King proposed to her to become his mistress, when she replied, that though she might be happy to become his wife, she would never condescend to the proposed degradation; and that, when Henry found no way for the attainment of his ends probable, except by a dissolution of his former marriage, he affected to believe that he was living in incest with the relict of his brother." Upon these statements it is only needful to remark, that Sir Thomas Boleyn was created Viscount Rochford in 1525, when there is good reason to believe that his daughter Anne was in

Majesty to clear him from the obloquy commonly attached to him as the first mover of these unpopular proceedings. Henry readily and fully complied with his minister's request, asserting, that the cardinal had discountenanced his scruples when he first proposed them for his consideration [u].

On the 25th of the month, the court sat again; the Queen having been previously served with a notice to appear on that day. She did not, however, obey, but she sent an appeal to the Pope, grounded on exceptions to the judges, to the place of their judicature, and even to her own counsel [x]. This appeal being read, and no appearance on her part being made, she was pronounced contumacious and the judicial process began. The depositions of several individuals of rank and respectability, established the facts of the case, which, indeed, lay in a very small compass, and were too notorious to be contradicted. They consisted chiefly in proofs of Catharine's two marriages, and in proofs, which are sufficiently satis-

France, and when there was no likelihood whatever that Henry had determined to marry her; that the Romish Princes of France and Spain objected to the Lady Mary's birth as illegitimate; and that the King asserted repeatedly the conscientiousness of his scruples. The authority cited for charging all this baseness upon the King, is that of Cardinal Pole; but he could not have known the true state of the case so accurately as Henry himself, nor is his veracity so little liable to suspicion.

[u] Cavendish, 426.

[x] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 115.

factory, that the former marriage had been consummated [y].

The facilities, however, for arriving at a speedy decision, which the legates now possessed, had evidently failed of overcoming their spirit of procrastination, and the King began to lose all patience. He appears to have attributed his irritating state of suspense chiefly to the lukewarmness or artifices of Wolsey, who was, in consequence, rapidly sinking in his esteem. Indeed, Henry had no longer any great cause to confide in his former favourite. Campeggio had brought to England a decretal bull from the Pope, annulling the marriage with Catharine, and had shewn this instrument to the King, but had refused to let it .

[y] Henricus VII. "caverat de medicorum consilio, ut gravis quædam matrona, in eodem cum illis thalamo sociata, videret ne carne conjungerentur, eo quod, Arthurus, decimum quintum ætatis annum vix dum attingens, ex lento præterquam morbo laboraret." (Sanderus de Schism.) This ridiculous tale would have been rather improved if the veracious historian, whose authority is now, by Romish writers, once more placed in requisition, had mentioned the name of the late King's "grave matron." It would have been as well for the credit of Sanders, if he had not stated Arthur's age as less by more than a year, than it really was; if he had not informed the world that Henry, at the age which he assigns to Arthur, was the father of Anne Boleyn; and if he had taken the pains to read, or had possessed the honesty to use the depositions given into court before the legates. These depositions would have informed him, that Arthur was in his sixteenth year, that he appeared healthy, and that the story of the matron is undoubtedly a fiction. Extracts from these depositions may be seen in Lord Herbert's History, 113.

pass out of his own hands[2]; alleging, what was manifestly true, that it would be improper to make use of it, or even to let its existence be generally known, before the Queen should have had an opportunity of publicly justifying, to the best of her power, the connexion that she had unfortunately formed. The sight of this bull naturally caused Henry to conclude, that Clement was certainly, and that probably Campeggio, was favourable to his views. Hence, he laid the whole blame of his extended suspense upon the bad faith of Wolsey; an impression which gathered strength from that cardinal's deference for his coadjutor, a line of conduct so different from his usual arrogance, that it naturally engendered a suspicion of insincerity. Nor, in fact, does it admit of a doubt, that Wolsey had long been unfavourable to the gratification of his master's wishes. He was now fully convinced, that, in case of a divorce from Catharine, neither a French Princess, nor any other lady likely to augment his own political importance, would mount the throne. That honour, he was well aware, was reserved for Anne Boleyn, who viewed him with aversion, and whose elevation, he could hardly doubt, would be the signal of his own downfall. To descend from the pinnacle of power on which he had so long securely stood, was, however, a prospect such as the favourite could not contemplate without dismay, and hence he lent himself with alacrity to

[2] Herbert, 106.

the disingenuous and interested policy of the court of Rome.

At length, fully sensible of Wolsey's perfidy[a], the King, in an interview with him at the palace of Bridewell, which lasted for more than an hour, gave a free vent to his anger and disappointment. It was a warm summer's day when the humiliated cardinal stepped into his barge after this burst of royal displeasure. As he was proceeding up the river towards his house at Westminster, the Bishop of Carlisle met him, and remarked: "It is a hot day, my Lord." The pensive minister replied: "Yea, my Lord, if ye had been as well

[a] "Volsœus occulte literis et nuntiis secretioribus cum Clemente pontifice agebat, ut divortii judicium extraheretur, donec ipse confirmaret Henrici animum ad suam voluntatem: verum nihil suis machinis moliebatur, quod regi latere valeret, qui idcirco hominem tot beneficiorum immemorem in ordinem infimum redigere statuit." (Polyd. Verg.) An anonymous MS. History of the Reformation, in the British Museum, (Bibl. Harl.) which appears to have been written in the reign of Charles I. and of which the copy consulted is dedicated to James II., contains the following account of the manner in which Henry obtained proof of Wolsey's treachery. "His letters to the Pope for delay fell into the hands of Sir Francis Bryan, being then ambassador at Rome, by the help of a concubine which one of the Pope's secretaries kept, and with whom Sir Francis had familiarity extraordinary, and so far prevailed with her, that she should, after a wanton fashion, toss over the writings of the said secretary, and in case she should light upon any writing with Wolsey's name, or with a hand or character like to the letter which he delivered unto her, she should steal it, and bring it to him. She lights upon the letter, brings it to Sir Francis, who, accordingly, rewarded her, and sends the letter in post to the King."

chafed as I have been within this hour, ye would say it were *very* hot[b]." When he arrived at home, he immediately retired to bed, in the hope that slumber might calm the agitation of his spirits: but before he had lain fully two hours upon his couch, the Earl of Wiltshire[c] aroused him with a message from the King, desiring him, without loss of time, to wait upon the Queen, in company with his colleague, and to press upon her the propriety of consenting to the proposed divorce. The Cardinal immediately ordered his watermen to resume their posts, and having rowed to Bath place, he took Campeggio on board, and proceeded with him to Bridewell. When there arrived, the legates desired an interview with her Majesty. Catharine at once obeyed the summons, coming from amidst her ladies, with whom she had been engaged in needle-work, with a skein of white thread about her neck. The unwelcome visitors having explained their business, Catharine flatly refused any compliance with their exhortations: then turning to Wolsey, she thus addressed him in French: "For this trouble, I only may thank you, my Lord Cardinal of York; since, because I have often wondered

[b] Cavendish, 431.

[c] Sir Thomas Boleyn, Viscount Rochford, had been so created in the current year, 1529. (Heylin, Help to Engl. Hist. 452.) If Dr. Lingard had attributed this new elevation to the influence of Anne Boleyn, no one would have denied that the surmise was probable, although her father was far from destitute of personal claims to his sovereign's favourable regards.

at your high pride and vain glory, and abhor your voluptuous life and abominable lechery, and little regard your presumptuous power and tyranny; therefore, out of malice, you have kindled this fire, and set this matter on the spit; especially for the great malice that you bear to my nephew, the Emperor, whom, I perfectly know, that you hate worse than a scorpion, because he would not satisfy your ambition, and make you Pope by force[d]."

But although Wolsey ruined himself, with all parties at home, by his conduct respecting the divorce, he effectually served the Pope. During the pretended deliberations of his two legates in England, Clement was enabled to adjust his affairs in a satisfactory manner with the Emperor. That monarch agreed, that the family of Medici should be restored to its former importance at Florence, that a natural daughter of his own should marry a member of that house, and that certain accessions of territory should be incorporated with the ecclesiastical state[e].

These boons placed the Pope entirely at Charles's devotion, and careless, in a great measure, of disobliging a distant Prince, from whom he, personally, had but little to hope or fear, he allowed the imperial court to dictate that line of conduct to be pursued in Catharine's affair, which was most in unison with Austrian feelings and policy.

[d] Halle.

[e] Rapin, I. 784.

As, however, it was necessary to give the papal partizans some colour for defending the practices of their pontiff, the court in London made a shew of continuing its business, even after the arrangements between Charles and Clement had been finally completed[f]. At length, on the 21st of July, both the evidence and the arguments upon the case were concluded, and nothing remained but the decision of the legates[g]. In order to deliberate upon this, Campeggio said, some brief interval ought to be allowed to his brother and himself, and, accordingly, he adjourned the court until the following Friday, being the 23d. On that day, the hall was crowded, the King repaired to a room within a short distance, and a decision seemed inevitable. Campeggio, as usual, was the spokesman, and his speech was to inform the hearers, "that the season was now begun at Rome when no business was done in the courts there, on account of the harvest and the vintage; that the court in London was to be considered merely as a branch of that in Rome, and must be governed by the same rules; that he, therefore, felt himself obliged to adjourn the proceedings until the beginning of October, the usual time for re-commencing business at Rome; and that, then, he

[f] By a treaty signed at Barcelona, on the 29th of June. Ibid.

[g] "The legates had been careful to prolong the trial by repeated adjournments, till they reached that time when the summer vacation commenced, according to the practice of the Rota." Lingard.

doubted not, such a sentence would be given as would be received with general satisfaction[h]." The hearers of this unlooked-for communication were first aroused from their astonishment by the noise of a violent blow which the Duke of Suffolk struck upon the table, and by the following words, which he vehemently uttered: "By the mass, I see that the old saw is true; never was there legate or cardinal that did any good in England[i]." Farther violence was repressed by Wolsey, who, with a great deal of firmness and good sense, expostulated with Suffolk, and reminded him of the obligation he was under to himself[k]. Thus ended this extraordinary court, the whole conduct of which must have inflicted a serious

[h] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 121.

[i] Halle. The popular prejudice against Cardinals is shewn by the following distich, cited by Dr. Wordsworth (Eccl. Biogr. I. 436,) from the Visions of Piers Ploughman.

"The commune *clamat quotidie*, ech a man to other,
The country is the cursseder that cardinals comen in."

It is, perhaps, not improbable that this general dislike of cardinals was of very long standing in England. The first mention of these dignitaries among us appears to be in the year 1070, when William the Conqueror, for the purpose of establishing his usurpation, gladly allowed the Cardinals Hermenfred and John, to hold a council at Winchester, in which Stigand, the Primate, was deprived, with many other Bishops and Abbots, solely because there was reason to believe them better affected towards the religious and political independence of their country, than towards the Pope and the Normans. See Collier, I. 240. Parker, 164. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. I. 249, 294.

[k] Cavendish, 437.

injury upon the papal cause in the estimation of most discriminating and sober-minded Englishmen.

The King bore his disappointment with a great appearance of equanimity, being still inclined to hope that his cause might be brought to an issue by the two legates in the beginning of October. However, this expectation was soon seen to be illusory, for on the 4th of August, a messenger arrived from Rome, with injunctions from the Pope to the two Cardinals, inhibiting them from taking any farther cognizance of the questions recently submitted to them, with a notification, that his holiness had evoked the cause to Rome, having reserved it for his own decision; and with citations to the King and Queen, calling upon them to appear in Rome, either in person, or by proxy. This insult effectually roused Henry's spirit. He refused to allow the citations to be formally served, and he declared, that he would not so far compromise the rights of his crown, and lower himself in the eyes of his subjects, as to obey an order for his appearance out of his own dominions[1]. Thus was this prince, hitherto the devoted adherent, and even the advocate of the papacy, driven by the inveterate selfishness of the reigning pontiff, to take an unfavourable view of that power, and prepared for those opinions of its real character, which an individual of eminence soon after infused into his mind,

[1] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 122.

which directed the policy of his later years, and which, since his time, the majority of Englishmen have considered a principal bulwark and glory of their country.

In the hope that travelling and rural amusements would tend, in some degree, to divert his thoughts from the vexations into which he had fallen, the King determined to leave London for a time, and he removed to Grafton in Northamptonshire. At that place, Campeggio, who was anxious to return into Italy, was informed that he might be admitted to a parting audience. Accordingly, he and Wolsey travelled down together, occasioning many bets to be laid by the gentlemen about the court, that the English Cardinal would receive from the King no notice whatever. It was, indeed, sufficiently evident, that the sun of this long envied favourite's greatness was setting fast. When the cavalcade, formed by the two cardinals and their attendants, reached the royal gates at Grafton, their eminences were not a little mortified in observing that the officers of the household had not arranged themselves in expectation of their approach. When, however, they alighted, some gentlemen, bearing the white staves of office, met Campeggio, and conducted him to an apartment prepared for him; but Wolsey learnt, with grief and vexation, that for his accommodation no orders had been given. In his perplexity, Norris, the groom of the stole, good-naturedly offered him the use of his own chamber, while he changed his dress; an offer

which the Cardinal was fain to accept. He was, however, admitted together with Campeggio into the royal presence, and civilly received. Still it was evident, that the King had taken a violent offence at something in his conduct, for he was observed to draw him towards a window, and pulling from his bosom a paper, to ask him: "How can that be; is not this your own hand?" Wolsey's answer was not overheard, but Henry dismissed him with no appearance of discourtesy, and desired him to go to dinner. He took that meal with some persons of distinction then with the court, whose observations to him at table were, however, something freer than usual; and at night-fall, he rode by torch-light to Euston, where his attendants had procured a lodging for him. When he was about sitting down to supper, Gardiner, or Dr. Stephens, as he was called, came in; but being now attached to the King, as secretary, and being, most likely, sufficiently well-known to Wolsey as a man of consummate art, the Cardinal knew not whether to consider him as a friend or a spy. However, he received him politely, and begged him to share his repast; but he was careful to make the whole conversation at table turn upon travelling, hunting, hounds, and other subjects equally unimportant. On the next morning, Wolsey repaired once more to Grafton, and saw the King as he was preparing to mount his horse. Henry said something to him about coming again, together with Campeggio, but as that Cardinal had already taken his leave, and as,

probably, neither of their eminences discovered any signs of being over-welcome at court at that particular time, they both determined upon journeying homewards as soon as dinner was over. They did, accordingly, proceed as far as St. Alban's on that afternoon: at that celebrated abode of monastic opulence, they rested on the following day; and on the next morning, they rode to the Moor. From that seat, Campeggio took his departure for Italy [m]. At Calais, his baggage was subjected, much against his will, to a very strict search by the custom-house officers, who were ordered to be thus particular, in the hope of finding the decretal bull annulling the King's marriage, or other papers of importance. But although this inspection exposed the empurpled traveller's poverty or meanness, by displaying no inconsiderable assortment of faded garments [n], it brought to light no document of importance. The decretal bull, indeed, had been burnt long before [o], and such other papers as the Cardinal considered material, he had previously despatched to Rome by means of couriers [p]. After the interview at Grafton, Wolsey was never again admitted into the King's presence [q].

Soon after the two Cardinals had departed, the court left Northamptonshire, and moved towards London. It consisted, as usual, of a very large assemblage; the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk

[m] Cavendish, 439. [n] Halle. [o] Herbert, 106.
[p] Ibid. 423. [q] Halle.

were with the King, and among his men of business, Gardiner, his secretary, and Fox, his almoner. To these last, he complained, before he left Grafton, of the vexatious turn which his domestic affairs had taken, and he begged them on no account to intermit their attention to his case. The royal party travelled upwards by the way of Waltham, at which place Henry stopped for the purpose of enjoying, as it seems, the diversion of the chace in the neighbouring forest. The influx of distinguished visitors into the town was so great, that its noble abbey was insufficient for their accommodation, and some of the King's suite were obliged to take up their quarters in the houses of the neighbouring gentlemen. Fox and Gardiner were entertained by an inhabitant of Waltham, named Cressy, and they met unexpectedly at his table, an individual whom they had known at Cambridge, and whose counsels not only gave a new turn to the King's matrimonial cause, but also a new and permanent direction to the minds of Englishmen[r]. Any circumstances tending to illustrate the character and services of that distinguished person, it is unjust and impolitic in a Protestant to withhold from view. For, the enemies of his principles were so persevering in their hatred to him while alive, and have laboured so unceasingly ever since to heap obloquy upon his memory, that few men's pretensions to posthumous respect have been more

[r] Parker, 481.

fiercely contested by one party, or less warmly advocated by the other. To expose the mass of misrepresentation, and to correct the misconception which are associated with his name, it is necessary to trace him through the whole course of his eventful life. Nor will those who value either the Protestant religion, or historic truth, find any reason to regret the time consumed in forming an accurate opinion of him, to whose advice and labours Englishmen owe the Reformation of their national Church.

In the county of Nottingham, and at no great distance from that town on the eastward side, lies Aslacton[a], a hamlet in which was seated a gentleman's family deriving its name from the place, so early as the reign of Henry II. The last male descendant of this ancient house married Isabel, his daughter and heiress, to Edmund Cranmer, sprung from one of the Conqueror's fellow-adventurers, and member of a family long seated at Cranmer Hall, in Lincolnshire. The new possessor of Aslacton took up his abode in the mansion of his wife's forefathers; and his grandson, Thomas, was living there, in the latter part of the fifteenth century. This gentleman married Agnes, daughter of Laurence Hatfield, of

[a] Connected parochially with Whatton. The lordship of Aslacton contains about 1200 acres, and formerly possessed a chapel of its own. The residence of the Aslactons and Cranmers has long been demolished, but its site may be traced by means of numerous earth-works, which mark the place where it once stood. Hist. of Nottinghamshire, by Thoroton and Throsby.

Willoughby, in his own county. The issue of this marriage were three sons, and four daughters [t]. Thomas, the second son, was born at Aslacton, on the second day of July, in the year 1489 [u]. His education was begun under the care of a neighbouring clergyman, a man of slender attainments, but of inflexible severity, who left a very unfavourable impression upon his pupil's mind. The relaxations of the youthful scholar consisted in such exercises and sports as engaged the attention of gentlemen in that age. He was admitted to join parties, which scoured the fields with hawk and hound. Of these early habits the effects were never wholly lost. He rode with ease and confidence through life. Nor did he hesitate, even after he had attained the summit of ecclesiastical dignity, to unbend his mind occasionally by reverting to the healthy sports, which once invigorated his youthful frame. A few hours employed at intervals in falconry and the chace within his own domains, relieved him from the injurious effects of that studious toil, to which his life was given up; and sometimes, when it was required that deer should be shot in his park, in spite of his defective vision, he himself handled the bow [x].

When in his twelfth year, it was Cranmer's misfortune to lose his father; and the future care of his education devolved upon his surviving pa-

[t] Strype, Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, Oxf. 1812. 601.
[u] Ibid. 1. [x] Ibid. 2.

rent. By her it was determined to follow the usage of the times in sending her son early to the University. Accordingly, in the year 1503, when he had attained the age of fourteen, he went to reside at Cambridge, as a member of Jesus College. There he applied himself with diligence to the course of study then in vogue. From this, however, subtlety in disputation was to be acquired, rather than any information truly valuable. The dark riddles of the schoolmen exercised the ingenuity of students, without informing their judgment; and hence they acquired habits better adapted to perplex than to illustrate a question submitted to their consideration. Nevertheless, the Reformers had little reason to regret, in the subsequent periods of their lives, that so much of their youth had been spent amidst the sophists of the schools. Many of them were challenged to defend their opinions publicly against disputants of established character; and the partizans of the Roman Church would not have failed to represent their opponents as mere ignorant drivellers, if these latter had been unable to support their positions according to the approved forms of dialectics. Cranmer, eventually, found himself reduced to the necessity of contending with such weapons, in maintenance of those truths which he had drawn from the sacred record of God's will. Although, therefore, until he had attained the age of twenty-two, his studies had led to little other result than the acquisition of knowledge now thought unworthy of attention, he had,

before the end of life, some reason to confess, that even this first portion of his academic course had not been wholly misemployed [y].

About the year 1511, after his proficiency in the prescribed routine of study had been rewarded by a fellowship of his college, he was awakened to the advantage of examining those departments of literature, which a few scholars of original genius had begun to recover from the ruins of antiquity. Erasmus and Faber were the authors who communicated this new direction to his thoughts and pursuits. He read the works of these illustrious foreigners with avidity; and, during four or five years, he abandoned his studious hours almost wholly to their guidance [z]. He had proceeded to the degree of master of arts, and all his habits afforded the earnest of professional eminence, when he ventured upon a step which seemed likely to blight his prospects. A youth of celibacy is even now commonly imposed by prudence upon the student: before the Reformation, when the Church was closed against the married man, a scholar who should enter the nuptial state would seldom fail of consigning himself to hopeless poverty. Cranmer, however, seemed regardless of such considerations, as he vacated his fellowship by marrying a young lady of respectable family [a], but of little or no fortune.

[y] Strype, 2.

[z] Ibid.

[a] "A gentleman's daughter." (Foxe, 1688.) "Cranmer *avoit deja eté chassé du college de Christ* a Candbrige d'un premier marriage." (Bossuet, Variations, ch. vii.) The account

This last circumstance is indeed attested by the arrangements which he made for his wife's accommodation. He engaged apartments for her at the Dolphin, one of the inns at Cambridge, then kept by a female relation of hers. At this house, containing, as it did, one for whom he had been contented to forego a reasonable prospect of ease and independence, the husband naturally spent a considerable portion of his time. That envious spirit of detraction, which delights in exaggerating the early disadvantages of eminent men, eagerly traced back the primate of all England to the inn at Cambridge, at which once resided the wife of his youth. He was originally, it was said, nothing more than an hostler, whom many persons recollected at a well-known house of public entertainment, and whom some freak of fortune had raised to a height which, a man so brought up, could scarcely be even supposed to merit. Cranmer's actual employment, however, at this time, was that of lecturer at Buckingham college [b]. But he did not long remain unconnected with the society of Jesus. In little more than a year after his

of Cranmer's second marriage precedes this sentence. "The first remarkable circumstance we meet with in the life of Cranmer, was his privately marrying a woman of low condition, (Foxe cited, see above,) whilst he was fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, contrary to the engagements of his admission." Letters to a Prebendary, 124.

[b] "Before that called Monks' College, because monks studied there; but now Magdalen College." Strype, Mem. Cranmer, 3.

marriage, his wife died in child-birth; nor did the infant survive. He was then re-elected fellow of his former college; no doubtful testimony to his merit from those who had possessed sufficient means of estimating it correctly.

While he was diligently engaged in the prosecution of his studies, Luther and Zuingle arrested the attention of all thinking men in Western Europe. Having learnt of Erasmus and Faber to cast off a slavish deference to mere prescription, Cranmer looked with intense interest upon the controversies which raged in Saxony and Switzerland. But he soon became sensible, that he was not qualified, from his ignorance of Scripture, to form a correct opinion of the questions then so keenly debated. This defect was no sooner felt, than, with his characteristic industry, he laboured to remove it. During three successive years, the Bible, with its best commentators, occupied his time[c]; and in order to obtain a critical knowledge of the sacred volume, he studied the Greek and Hebrew languages[d]. Indeed few students have pursued their particular objects in a more effective manner than Cranmer. He thoroughly examined every branch of learning to which his attention was directed; and as he never was a hasty, desultory reader, having made any acquisition likely to be useful, he took care not to lose it again. In order to secure himself against the possibility of thus wasting his intellectual stores,

[c] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 3.

[d] Parker, 495.

he seldom sat down to the perusal of an author without at the same time taking his pen in hand; and he never failed either to extract passages, which struck him as worthy of notice, or to mark the place in which they could be found [e].

When about thirty-four years of age, he proceeded to the degree of doctor in divinity. His reputation then stood so high at Cambridge, that he was invited to accept an appointment in Wolsey's new college at Oxford [f]. The offer was such as he did not think it prudent to decline; and he even began his journey towards the sister university. On the road, however, he was admonished by a friend, that, as a conscientious divine, he was bound to cultivate humility, rather than to receive the suggestions of ambition [g]. The hint was sufficient to change his purpose, and he contentedly returned to Cambridge. There he pursued his studies with unabated vigour. He read the Greek and Latin fathers, examined the decrees of councils, and, in fine, explored every branch of theology. The members of his own college gladly appointed a scholar of such extensive attainments to read their lecture in divinity; and he was also entrusted by the University with the charge of

[e] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 3.

[f] Strype (ibid.) mentions eleven other scholars of eminence, who were appointed to situations in the new college; and adds, that they were all subsequently brought into trouble upon charges of heresy: a remarkable proof, that the ablest men of the time were generally disposed towards the Reformation.

[g] Parker, 495.

examining candidates for degrees in that faculty. In this capacity he acted upon a principle till then unknown in Cambridge. He examined all candidates who came to him as to their knowledge of Scripture, and if he found them grossly deficient in acquaintance with the sacred volume, he refused to recommend them as fit for the degree to which they aspired. This innovation, like all others, met with some resistance. The monks and friars especially complained of the contempt with which the new examiner treated scholastic theology. But Cranmer was proof against their clamours, and never failed to admonish candidates who had studied schoolmen only, that they ought to spend two or three years upon a diligent consideration of God's recorded word, before they could reasonably ask of the University to recommend them to the world as versed in sacred learning. Some of the individuals, greeted by this mortifying, but salutary admonition, afterwards thankfully acknowledged its justice, and admitted, that, in consequence of it, they had acquired information, which, though of the most valuable kind, the prevalence of evil habits had caused them wholly to overlook[h]. Indeed a man of sense and integrity was very little likely to feel offended by any recommendation that came from Cranmer. Not only did the fame of his scholarship entitle his opinions to an attentive consideration, but also the whole course of his life was so

[h] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 4.

thoroughly blameless, that he was above the suspicion of being actuated by any unworthy motive. Just, temperate, mild, regular, and placable, a stranger to malice and revenge, he discharged the duties entrusted to him in such a manner as to command universal respect[i].

Among Cranmer's pupils at Cambridge, were two lads named Cressy, sons of a gentleman who had married a relation of his. These youths were driven from the University by the appearance of the plague in the town; and they retired, together with their tutor, to their father's house at Waltham Abbey, in Essex[k]. The three were still there, when the King arrived in the place; and Mr. Cressy found himself called upon to entertain Fox and Gardiner. When these gentlemen sat down to supper, they were much gratified on seeing at table Dr. Cranmer, with whom they had been acquainted at Cambridge, and whose high reputation there, was of course well known to them. In the course of conversation, they desired his opinion as to the King's matrimonial case. He replied, "I have not reflected upon this question in all its bearings, as you gentlemen have; but it seems to me, that nothing connected with it needs to be considered, except merely whether his highness has contracted such a marriage as the recorded word of God allows. Of this matter learned divines are the only competent judges; and by the collective opinion of such persons upon

[i] Parker, 496.

[k] Foxe, 1688.

the case, I must confess that it appears to me most reasonable to abide. This opinion might be obtained without any very considerable degree either of trouble or expence; and after it was once fairly before the King's grace, he might, according to it, either determine upon repudiating his wife, or he might live with her, with a safe conscience[1]." This suggestion, by which it was proposed to decide the question without any reference to popes and their dispensations, at once struck the hearers as adapted to cut the knot, which no man hitherto had succeeded in disentangling.

On the following day the King removed to Greenwich. There, in an audience which he gave to Fox and Gardiner, he thus expressed himself: "What now, my masters, shall we do in this endless cause of mine? I have a notion, that there must be a new commission procured from Rome; and when we shall find a close, God only knoweth, and not I." To this, the almoner replied: "We trust, Sir, that there shall be better ways devised, than to travel any more so far as Rome for the despatching of your highness's cause. A plan to render this needless, was put into our heads last night at Waltham." The King earnestly rejoined: "Indeed; who hath taken in hand to instruct you by any better or shorter way to proceed in our said cause?" "It chanced us last night, Sir," resumed Fox, "to be lodged at Waltham, with one Mr. Cressy. At his table we met

[1] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 5.

with an old acquaintance of ours, Dr. Cranmer by name; with whom, having conference concerning your highness's cause, he said, that, in his opinion, the best and shortest way to instruct and quiet your royal conscience, would be to try the question at issue solely by God's written word; and according to the sense which shall be deduced therefrom by competent judges of the same, to proceed to a final sentence." Henry listened with eager attention to these words; and appearing evidently much pleased with the proposed plan, Gardiner stepped forward, and insinuated, that the first hint of the scheme had indeed been thrown out by himself[m]. This display of courtly dexterity, the King, however, seemed not to regard. He merely asked, "Where is this Dr. Cranmer? Is he still at Waltham?" He was answered, "We left him there last night." "Marry, then," rejoined the King, "I will surely speak to him. Let him be sent for, out of hand. I perceive that this man hath the sow by the right ear. If I had but known this device two years ago, it had been in my way a great piece of money, and had also rid me of much disquietness." A messenger was now immediately sent to Waltham, to desire Cranmer to wait upon the King at Greenwich. The doctor, however, had left Mr. Cressy's house for Cambridge, through

[m] Parker, 482. "The secretary was not content with the almosiner, for that he did not utter this devise as of their own invention." Foxe, 1689.

which town he meant to pass in his way to pay a visit to his relations in Nottinghamshire. His anticipations of an agreeable meeting with these friends of his infancy and youth, were interrupted alike unexpectedly and disagreeably, by the royal messenger's arrival; with whom he reluctantly shaped his course towards London. When he reached the metropolis, he blamed Fox and Gardiner for having mentioned his name to the King, telling them, that he had not given to the matter in debate that degree of attention, without which it was impossible to form a satisfactory judgment of it; and he therefore begged them to use their best endeavours to get him excused from waiting upon his Majesty [n].

With this request they promised to comply; but all the excuses that they could offer to the King were of no avail. He was angry because Cranmer was not introduced into his presence at once, and desired to see him without farther delay. Accordingly, the modest scholar found himself obliged to make his appearance before his sovereign. Henry received him with great kindness; and, leading the conversation to what passed at Waltham, he asked, whether the report of Fox and Gardiner was correct. Cranmer replied in the affirmative. "Well," rejoined the King, "I perceive that you have the right scope of this matter. You must understand, that I have been long troubled in conscience; and now I see, that

[n] Foxe, 1689.

by thy means, I might have been long ago relieved one way or other from the same, if we had this way proceeded. And therefore, master doctor, I pray you, and nevertheless, because you are a subject, I charge and command you, all your other business and affairs set apart, to take some pains to see this my cause furthered according to your device, as much as it may lie in you; so that I may shortly understand whereunto I may trust. For this I protest before God and the world, that I seek not to be divorced from the Queen, if by any means I might justly be persuaded that this our matrimony were inviolable, and not against the laws of God; for otherwise, there never was cause to move me to seek any such extremity [o]. Neither was there ever prince that had a more gentle, a more obedient and loving companion and wife than the Queen is; nor I never fancied woman in all respects better, if this doubt had not arisen: assuring you, that for the singular virtues with which she is endued, besides the consideration of her noble stock, I could be right well contented still to remain with her, if so it would

[o] This solemn asseveration, and it was not the only one made by the King, must convince every candid mind, that his scruples were not merely the hollow pretence of unprincipled sensuality, as certain writers, both ancient and modern, assert. Respecting the main authority with these authors, Cardinal Pole, it may not be unacceptable to some readers to transcribe the words of Lord Herbert: "Neither will it satisfy all men, that he (Pole) pretends in more places than one, to have known even so much as the King's thoughts by revelation." 123.

stand with the will and pleasure of Almighty God. I therefore pray you, with an indifferent eye, and with as much dexterity as lieth in you, that you, for your part, do handle the matter for the discharging of both our consciences [p]. Encouraging as was this signal mark of royal confidence, the modesty of Cranmer was such, that he would gladly have been excused from the task imposed upon him. He, therefore, ventured to recommend, that some of the ablest divines in the two Universities should be required to examine whether such a marriage as his Majesty's were agreeable to God's recorded word. "You say well," rejoined the King, "and I am content therewith; yet, nevertheless, I will have you specially to write your mind therein." In order that Cranmer might not find any difficulty in fulfilling the royal commands at a distance from his home and his books, Henry called the Earl of Wiltshire, and said to him, "I pray you, my Lord, let Dr. Cranmer have entertainment at your house at Durham Place, for a time, to the intent that he may be there quiet to accomplish my request, and let him lack neither books, nor any thing requisite for his studies [q]."

[p] Foxe, 1689.

[q] Both Archbishop Parker (482), and Foxe (1689), assert, that Cranmer was introduced to the Boleyns by the King. Those who read only the Romish writers could hardly fail of believing, that the reverse of this was the fact. Sanders says, that when the see of Canterbury became vacant, Henry offered it to Pole, on condition that he should divorce him from Catha-

By the Boleyns their new inmate was soon regarded with the most friendly sentiments; and furnished, as he was, by Lord Wiltshire, with whatever he desired, he was not long in completing the task assigned to him by the King. He proved, by citations from Scripture, by the decrees of general councils, and by passages selected from authors of eminence, both ancient and modern, that the Pope possesses no power to dispense with any thing contained in God's recorded Word. This mass of authorities being properly arranged, and illustrated by observations of his own, he formed into the ground-work of a treatise upon the question at issue; which, when finished, was presented to the King. Henry read it with great satisfaction; and when the author next appeared in the royal presence, he asked him, "Will you, master doctor, abide by what you have written?" "That I will, by God's grace," answered Cranmer, "even before the Pope himself, if your highness shall so assign it."

rine; and Pole having refused it upon those terms, Lord Wiltshire told Henry, that he had a chaplain, namely, Cranmer, who would answer his purpose. Dodd, although he mentions the meeting at Waltham of Fox and Gardiner with Cranmer, follows Sanders as to the disposal of the archbishopric. Dr. Lingard is more careful of committing himself, so far as to retail these fictions of Sanders. His first mention of Cranmer, however, is made when he speaks of the ambassadors sent to the Pope at Bologna: "These," he says, "were accompanied by a council of divines, among whom was Thomas Cranmer, a clergyman attached to the Boleyn family, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury."

The King added: "Marry, then, to the Pope you shall go." As, however, the projected journey into Italy did not take place until a considerable interval after the date of this conversation, Cranmer remained with the Earl of Wiltshire, and became completely domesticated in his family. By this means his qualities were thoroughly known to the King; for Henry now was in constant communication with Anne Boleyn, and he contracted a partiality for the society of Cranmer, who was often required to attend him[r].

Soon after the commencement of Cranmer's acquaintance with the Boleyns, the first blow was given to the Popish Church in England, by the disgrace of Cardinal Wolsey. Of all the persons raised by the eighth Henry from obscurity to splendour, this extraordinary man reached the highest elevation, and maintained it with the least interruption. Indeed history records few examples of an advancement more sudden and conspicuous than that of Thomas Wolsey. Such was the humbleness of his origin, that even his contemporaries appear to have been unable to ascertain it exactly[s]. It is known that he was born at

[r] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 8.

[s] "Truth it is that this Cardinal Wolsey was an honest poor man's son." (Cavendish, 325.) Archbishop Parker says of him, (463.) "Humili loco ac obscuris ortus parentibus, erat enim lanii filius, *ut quidam putant*." Sanders, who sets no bounds to his abuse of Wolsey, because he considered him the first mover of the divorce, says of him, "Non humili tantum loco, sed et vili natus."

Ipswich, in the year 1471[t]; and the prevailing report has ever been, that his father was a butcher in that town. In early boyhood the future minister discovered indications of no common talent; and being sent to Magdalen College, Oxford, his proficiency attracted considerable attention, and procured for him a fellowship of his house. He was soon after appointed to the mastership of Magdalen school; where, among his pupils, were three sons of the Marquess of Dorset, a nobleman who so highly valued his services, that he presented him to the rectory of Lymington, in Somersetshire[u]. When he went down to take possession of his benefice, his proneness to levity and vicious indulgence appears to have betrayed him into some signal indiscretion; and Sir Amias Paulet, one of the neighbouring gentry, placed him in the stocks; an indignity which rankled in his breast, even amidst the magnificence and gaiety by which he was subsequently surrounded[x]. After his generous patron's death, Wolsey undertook the office of chaplain to an aged knight, who was treasurer of Calais, and who, in his return home

[t] Fiddes: cited by Dr. Wordsworth. Eccl. Biogr. I. 325.

[u] To which he was instituted October 10, 1500. Ibid.

[x] "For when the school master mounted the dignity to be chancellor of England, he was not oblivious of his old displeasure cruelly ministered upon him by Mr. Paulet, but sent for him, and after many sharp and heinous words, enjoined him to attend until he were dismissed, and not to depart out of London without licence obtained: so he continued there, within the Middle Temple, the space of five or six years." Cavendish, 326.

from that place, obtained for him a chaplaincy in the household of Henry VII. In this situation he insinuated himself into the good graces of Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester; and by this prelate's recommendation, he was commissioned to make some diplomatic arrangements with the Emperor Maximilian, then in Flanders. This first public employment Wolsey discharged with such uncommon despatch and dexterity, that the old King rewarded him with the deanery of Lincoln[y]; a preferment, together with that of royal almoner, which he held on the accession of Henry VIII. to the throne.

With the young monarch, the almoner soon became a distinguished favourite[z]. His temper and habits were joyous and convivial; qualities which could scarcely fail of gaining upon the affections of a prince in the prime of youth. He possessed that taste for magnificence, and that graceful courtesy of manner, which, being usual among persons of elevated rank, they look for in those admitted to their society. He advised his youthful sovereign to indulge freely in those pleasures, which the princely station, and the hoards of a parsimonious father, placed so temptingly within his reach. To these recommendations, Wolsey added more solid qualities. He

[y] To which he was collated February 2, 1508. Le Neve's Fasti, 146.

[z] "For that he was most earnest and readiest in all the council to advance the King's only will and pleasure, having no respect to the cause." Cavendish, 334.

was a man of great address, and application to business; so that Henry found little occasion for intermitting his pursuit of amusement after he had once thoroughly established the almoner in his confidence. That rising churchman also possessed a tolerable share of professional knowledge; and Aquinas, the King's favourite schoolman, was the author whose opinions he had espoused[a]. It was to be expected that Henry should become attached to such a man. But his friendship for him overstepped all reasonable bounds. Wolsey was first raised to the bishopric of Lincoln, a see which, on the death of Cardinal Bainbridge, he exchanged for that of York. With this archbishopric he held in succession the sees of Bath and Wells, Durham, and Winchester[b], together with the rich abbacy of St. Alban's[c]. He received also a large pension both from the King of France, and from the Emperor[d]; and he filled the office of Lord Chancellor[e]. His opulence thus became immense[f]; nor, as he was cre-

[a] Herbert, 14. 38.

[b] He was consecrated to the see of Lincoln in February, 1514, translated to York before the end of that year, preferred to Bath and Wells *in commendam* in 1518; this bishopric he exchanged for Durham in 1523, and that again for Winchester in 1529. Le Neve, 310.

[c] Conferred upon him *in commendam*, in 1521. Herbert, 23.

[d] Robertson, Charles V. II. 73.

[e] He received the great seal on the 14th of December, 1515. Note to Godwin, De Præsul. 701.

[f] Besides the sources of revenue mentioned in the text, he farmed, at different times, the bishoprics of Bath and Wells, and

ated a cardinal[g], and legate *a latere*[h], was there scarcely any thing of professional rank, or political power, short of the Papacy, which was left him to desire. He was indeed the most opulent and powerful subject England ever saw. As a public servant, he appears to have shewn himself both able and industrious; nor, probably, had it not been for his constant aspirations after the triple crown, would his foreign policy have ever been at variance with the national interest. In his mode of living, Wolsey's magnificence and profusion knew no bounds. His establishment was arranged upon a princely scale[i]; and individuals of superior birth esteemed themselves for-

Worcester, remitting to their Italian incumbents a moderate rent, and making the most of the proceeds belonging to those sees, as well as enjoying the patronage. (Cavendish, 345.) The anonymous MS. historian of the Reformation, (Bibl. Harl.) says, that "he had gotten what would be a competency for thirty or forty men of quality."

[g] September 7, 1515, by the title of *Cardinalis Sanctæ Cæciliæ trans Tiberim*. Herbert, 23.

[h] By a bull dated June 10, 1519. (Herbert, 32.) The MS. hist. of the Reformation, (Bibl. Harl.) asserts, that his legatine power extended over Scotland as well as England. After this accession of dignity, he caused, in addition to his cross as archbishop, another to be carried before him as legate; a piece of state which, says his enemy, Polydore Vergil, induced the lovers of ill-natured mirth to remark, that one cross was not sufficient for the expiation of his sins.

[i] "The number of the persons in his check-roll were one hundred and eighty." (Cavendish, 350.) The following is Dr. Wordsworth's note upon this passage: "The printed life says, eight hundred persons, which seems a more probable number."

tunate in obtaining an appointment about his person. It is by the laxity of his ordinary conduct, and by his licentious morals, that this great minister's memory is tarnished. Gay and dissipated, vain, haughty, and rapacious, he would have incurred just reproach in any station: to the profession which showered down upon him wealth and honours with a liberality so prodigal, he was an undeniable discredit.

After having maintained his unexampled elevation during fifteen years, Wolsey, by his unprincipled duplicity, wholly lost the royal favour, and Henry determined on his ruin. At the opening of the Michaelmas term which followed the departure of Campeggio, the Cardinal once more proceeded to the court of chancery with all that gorgeous ostentation which ever marked his appearance in public [k]. He, probably, on that day,

[k] "He came out of his privy chamber, about eight of the clock, apparelled all in red; (that is to say, his upper garment was either of fine scarlet, or taffety, but most commonly of fine crimson satin engrained; his pillion of fine scarlet, with a neck set in the inner side with black velvet, and a tippet of sables about his neck;) holding in his hand an orange, whereof the meat or substance within was taken out, and filled up again with the part of a sponge, wherein was vinegar, and other confections against the pestilent airs; the which he most commonly held to his nose when he came among any press, or else that he was pestered with any suitors. And before him was borne first the broad seal of England, and his Cardinal's hat, by a lord or some gentleman of worship, right solemnly. And as soon as he was entered into his chamber of presence, where there were daily attending upon him, as well noblemen of this realm, and other worthy gentlemen, as gentlemen of his own family; his

received a decisive intimation of his fall; for the following day he spent at home, expecting no welcome visit from the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk. It was not, however, until the third day that these noblemen made their appearance, and they then required him to surrender the great seal into their hands, as well as to leave town for Esher, a village in Surrey, where then was a mansion belonging to the see of Winchester. The fallen favourite refused compliance with these demands: the great seal, he said, had been entrusted to him by the King, and was committed to his custody for life, by letters patent[1]. A violent altercation followed, but Wolsey proved inflexible, and the two Dukes, taking horse, rode

two great crosses were there attending to be borne before him. Then cryed the gentlemen ushers, going before him bare-headed, and said, 'On before my lords and masters, on before; and make way for my Lord Cardinal.' Thus went he down through the hall, with a sergeant of arms before him, bearing a great mace of silver, and two gentlemen carrying two great pillars of silver; and when he came to the hall-door, then his mule stood trapped all in crimson velvet, with a saddle of the same, and gilt stirrups.' Then was there attending upon him, when he was mounted, his two cross bearers, and his pillar bearers, in like case, upon great horses trapped all in fine scarlet. Then marched he forward, with a train of noblemen and gentlemen, having his footmen, four in number, about him, bearing each of them a gilt poll-axe in their hands: and thus passed he forth until he came to Westminster Hall door." Cavendish, 352.

[1] "According to Sir Edward Coke, the law would not have supported him in the contest; for the grant by patent for term of life was holden void, because an ancient office must be granted as it has been accustomed." Collier, II. 37.

to Windsor with intelligence, that their mission had been unsuccessful. On the following day, they returned with a letter from his Majesty, at the sight of which the Cardinal no longer offered any resistance, but at once gave up the seal[m]. This the King repeatedly pressed upon the acceptance of Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been entrusted with it before Wolsey. That prelate, however, declined the offer on account of his advanced age[n]. Henry then determined to break through the practice which had prevailed from time immemorial, and to confer the chancellorship upon a layman[o]. The individual in whose favour ancient usage was thus infringed, was Sir Thomas More, whose humour, learning, integrity, and misfortunes, have associated with his name a general feeling of mingled admiration and regret. This eminent man, when called to preside in the court of chancery, was chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and he had been formerly in the service of the disgraced cardinal, but he was now upon ill terms with him[p].

[m] October 19. Herbert, 124.

[n] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 126.

[o] "Qui honos habitus est homini laico ante se (More) nemini." (Harpsfield, Hist. Angl. Eccl.) Halle says, that the King was determined, by all means, to have a lay chancellor; but if this determination were really formed, it must have been after Warham had declined the seals; a fact attested by Erasmus, in one of his letters. Halle thus quaintly characterises Sir Thomas More. "He was a man whose wit was fine and full of imaginations, by reason whereof, he was much given to mocking, which was to his gravity a great blemish."

[p] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 126.

After delivering up the ensign of his official greatness, the Cardinal ordered to be properly arranged his magnificent sideboards of gold and silver plate, his costly tapestry, wardrobes of fine linen, silk, and velvet, his richly embroidered copes, which, together with inventories describing the several articles, he committed to the care of Sir William Gascoigne, his treasurer, for the purpose of being surrendered to the King's officers. Having completed this melancholy task, he repaired to the water's edge, when his downcast eye met numbers of boats plying on the glassy surface of the Thames, and filled with delighted spectators waiting impatiently to see him conveyed to the Tower. Much, however, to their disappointment, his barge took the opposite direction, and proceeded up the river towards Putney; at which place, having landed, he mounted his mule, and commenced his sorrowful journey towards Esher. He had not passed through the village of Putney, before a gentleman was seen riding rapidly down the hill, who proved to be Norris, the groom of the stole, and who brought to him a kind message from the King. Wolsey was no sooner apprised of this, than lost, as it seemed, to every thing save this gleam of royal favour, he dismounted with unwonted agility, knelt down in the mire, tore his cap off his head, and in that abject posture received the gracious communication which, with a ruby ring, Norris was charged by his royal master to deliver. After the receipt of these grateful boons, Wolsey ac-

complished what remained of his journey in better spirits; but he found that his fall was, indeed, severe. Instead of the magnificent superfluity which he had left at Whitehall, his house at Esher was wholly unfurnished, and a few articles were borrowed of the neighbours for his own personal accommodation. As for his attendants, they continued for almost a month without either beds, table-linen, dishes, or money [q].

During his unhappy residence at Esher, the Cardinal was harassed by legal proceedings instituted against him at the suit of the crown. By a statute passed in the reign of Edward III. the provisions of which were explained and extended in the reign of Richard II., the procuring of any instruments or processes from Rome without the royal licence, rendered the individual so offending liable to the penalties of a *Præmunire*, that is, he lost the protection of the law, his effects were forfeited, and his person was liable to be imprisoned [r]. This statute had fallen into desue-

[q] Cavendish, 453.

[r] The statute known as that of *Circumspecte agatis*, passed in the year 1285, *temp.* Edw. I., first set bounds to the papal usurpations, by defining the limits between the spiritual and the temporal jurisdictions. This check, however, proved ineffectual to restrain the encroaching spirit of the Roman court. Before benefices became vacant, it was a common practice with the Popes to name successors to them, by means of *expectative graces*, or *provisions*, as these invasions of the rights of patronage were called. The clerks who, upon this authority, claimed preferment, were termed *Provisors*. By a statute passed in the year 1350, *temp.* Edw. III., commonly called the statute of Provisors, persons convicted of bearing that character, were to

tude, and Wolsey, therefore, had felt no hesitation in disregarding it, by exercising the legatine authority without such a licence, as if his conduct in so doing were called in question, would bear him harmless. Under this obsolete statute, he was now indicted by the attorney general. At first, he pleaded ignorance of having infringed the law; but afterwards, having admitted himself guilty of the acts laid to his charge, a sentence of *Præmunire*, which placed his person and property wholly at the King's mercy, followed as a matter of course.

After the favourite's fall, it was determined to assemble the great council of the nation. It was now seven years since the three estates of the realm had constitutionally met their sovereign, and Wolsey, upon whom it was charged, was loudly blamed for the omission [a]. The two houses

suffer fine and imprisonment at the King's pleasure, to renounce the pretended right derived from Rome, and to give security that they would commence no new suit in any foreign court. In the year 1390, *temp.* Richard II., the statute of Provisors was confirmed, and it was further enacted, that if any person shall bring or send into the realm any summons, sentence, or excommunication, for the purpose of contravening the statute of Provisors, he, and all his abettors, shall be liable to imprisonment and confiscation of property. (Herbert, 124. Collier, I. 485, 554, 595.) The word "*Præmunire*" is a corruption of the Latin *præmonere*, q. d. to forewarn, or bid the offender take care; of which a reason may be drawn from the words of the statute 27 Edw. III. cap. 1, and the form of the writ, '*Præmunire facias præfatum propositum*, &c.' Cyclopædia by Dr. Rees, in Voc.

[a] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 129.

began their session on the 3d of November. Shortly after, an accusation against the disgraced Cardinal, comprising forty-four articles, was laid before the House of Lords, and, by a vote of that House, presented to the King. In this document, Wolsey was charged with many abuses in the exercise of his functions as a minister of the crown, and as a judge, but especially in his capacity of papal legate. To these charges were added others relating to his arrogance and immorality[t]. It is not very creditable to the peers that they should have lent the sanction of their authority to a mass of crimination so vague and invidious; but the late favourite, by his upstart pride and unapproachable ostentation, had so thoroughly disgusted those who were born to hereditary wealth and influence, that they were rendered, it seems, little anxious to canvass measures which tended to secure his ruin.

In the Lower House, the Cardinal found more equitable treatment. One of those able men whom he never failed to retain about his person, generously undertook to defend before the Commons, the cause of his old master. It was Thomas Cromwell, who had procured himself to be returned for a borough with this particular view[u], who displayed his magnanimity in thus upholding the reputation of his fallen benefactor. Crom-

[t] These accusations, dated December 1, may be seen at length in Lord Herbert's History, 125.

[u] Cavendish, 459, 462.

well's opposition was crowned by success, and Wolsey had the satisfaction of seeing that the representatives of the people refused to embitter his disgrace by fixing upon his character an unmerited charge of treason[x]. The spirit and ability discovered upon this occasion by the Cardinal's former dependent[y] highly gratified the King. Henry resolved to admit into his own confidence a man who had shewn himself superior to the cold, calculating selfishness which generally prevails in the world; and thus Cromwell, by his honourable conduct, was enabled to pierce through the cloud of obscurity which overshadowed his early years. One, who when he first saw the light, was known as a village tradesman's son[z], who had struggled through his youth, first, as a clerk to an English factory at Antwerp[a], afterwards, as a mercenary soldier in the Constable de Bourbon's army[b], was thus enabled by his honourable conduct, to pass the remainder of his days in affluence and splendour. Perhaps, ultimately, Cromwell saw reason to regret his change of fortune: he could not avoid feeling its vain

[x] Herbert, 129.

[y] "And upon this honest beginning, Cromwell obtained his first reputation." Ibid.

[z] He was born at Putney, in Surrey, where his father was originally a blacksmith, afterwards, it appears, a brewer.

[a] Foxe, 1076.

[b] Many Lutherans fought under Bourbon's command, and hence it is not improbable that Cromwell first formed a favourable opinion of the Reformation while with this army so famed for the sacking of Rome.

and deceitful character. It, however, furnished him with one solid satisfaction, as it enabled him to render those services to his country, which, without a certain vantage ground, the most honourable intentions and the brightest talents never can confer.

Wolsey's misfortunes so preyed upon his spirits, that he became seriously ill, and the news of his malady appears to have revived, in a great measure, the King's friendly feelings towards him. He sent his own physician, Dr. Butts, to attend him, and he also desired his acceptance of another valuable ring, as a token of his regard, and an earnest of his protection. Not contented with exhilarating his late favourite by these personal kindnesses, Henry induced Anne Boleyn to add her civilities to his, and thus the Cardinal was encouraged to hope that he needed no longer even to dread the enmity of that celebrated beauty, upon whose attractions he laid the blame of his downfall [c]. On the 12th of February, 1530, a full pardon was granted to the Cardinal [d]; nor was this the extent of the King's liberality. He also allowed him to retain the revenues accruing from the see of York [e], he settled upon him a pension of four thousand marks payable from the income

[c] Cavendish, 471.

[d] Herbert, 129.

[e] "Valebant ii (fructus Archiep. Ebor.) fortassis ad 4000 librarum in singulos annos." Godwin. Annal. 45. The see of York, however, was pillaged enormously before the end of this reign.

attached to Winchester[f], and he sent to him a present of money, plate, and household furniture, valued at more than six thousand pounds[g]. Besides these substantial marks of royal favour, Wolsey received permission to transfer his residence f ı Esher, a place which he greatly disliked, to Richmond; but he was not allowed again to appear at court.

The Cardinal's disgrace appears to have given fresh courage to the party which was hostile to the established Church, and the House of Commons displayed an uncommon degree of freedom in discussing ecclesiastical subjects. In that assembly were uttered severe invectives against the clergy, to the great disgust and disquietude of some individuals among the hierarchy. Bishop Fisher could not contain himself under these attacks upon the sacerdotal order, and when some obnoxious bills were brought up to the Lords, he pronounced the conduct recently adopted in the Lower House, to be symptomatic of heresy, and he was understood to have said, that it flowed "from lack of faith." The Commons highly resented this supposed reflection upon them, and complained to the King, that the Bishop of Rochester had spoken of them as if they had been mere infidels or heathens. Henry was, at that time, little disposed to favour Fisher, on account of his opposition to the divorce, and, therefore,

[f] Cavendish, 475.

[g] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 126.

he felt no hesitation in laying the complaint of the Commons before Archbishop Warham, and six other members of the episcopal bench. To these prelates the venerable Bishop of Rochester explained away his offensive expressions, by reminding them that he had alleged the example of Bohemia, in order to shew the danger of ecclesiastical innovations, and that he only meant to assert, the evils which had afflicted that country to have flowed "from lack of faith." However, the spirited opposition of Fisher did not succeed in arresting the determination to reform the Church, which was now placed in activity. The representatives of the people complained of the exorbitant charges made in the spiritual courts for the probates of wills; of mortuaries[h]; of

[h] "Commonly defined, gifts left by men at their deaths, by way of recompense for all failures in the way of tythes or oblations." A mortuary is called a *corse present*, because it was offered in behalf of the corse of the person deceased. The manner of paying the mortuary, was anciently by leading, driving, or carrying the horse, cow, &c. before the corpse of the deceased at his funeral. Sir Edward Coke observes, that no mortuary is due by law, but only by custom: but this kind of gratuity is mentioned so early as at the council of Engsham, holden about the year 1006. After the Norman conquest, the second best beast was ordered to be given as a mortuary. The reason of which, probably, was, because the best beast is commonly due to the lord of the manor, as a heriot. (Collier, I. 486.) A mortuary was called in Saxon times, *soul shot*. Dr. Stillingfleet makes a distinction between mortuaries and corse presents. The former, he says, was a right settled on the Church, upon the decease of a member of it: the latter was a voluntary oblation usually made at funerals. The statute passed in this

farming by ecclesiastics or their agents; of trading by such persons[i]; of pluralities[k]; and of non-residence[l]. In order to remedy these grounds of complaint, three Bills were introduced into the Lower House, and passed: one of which was to regulate the probates of wills; another to regulate mortuaries; and the third to prevent clergymen from engaging in farming or trade, or from holding more than one benefice, except under particular limitations, or from being non-resident on their preferments. The two bills first named were passed by the Lords without much difficulty: but that for the prevention of clerical farming or trading, and for restraining pluralities and non-residence, was warmly opposed by the Bishops, and was not enacted until after a conference between eight members selected from each House, which determined the lay peers to adopt the popular

Parliament annuls all claims for mortuaries in places where they have not been usually paid, and in all cases imposes restrictions both upon the amount of the claim, and the persons liable to it. Burn's Eccl. Law, Lond. 1763, II. 80. Grafton thus quaintly notices this statute: "The clergy *nipped* of their mortuaries and sondrie other things."

[i] "Abbots, priors, and spiritual men, kept tan-houses, and bought and sold wool, cloth, and all manner of merchandize." Foxe, 907.

[k] "One priest being little learned, *had ten or twelve benefices*, and was resident on none." Ibid.

[l] This complaint appears to have arisen chiefly from the practice then prevalent among the great, of retaining several chaplains about their persons, and of paying them for their services by means of benefices, upon which they never thought of residing. Ibid.

side of the question at issue [m]. This last act contains two clauses which must be considered as the first direct attacks made in this reign upon the interference long tacitly conceded to Popes. It was provided, that any clergyman who should obtain from Rome a dispensation for a plurality, should forfeit seventy pounds, and that such dispensation should be void; and, that any clergyman who should obtain, from the same quarter, a licence of non-residence, should forfeit twenty pounds, and that such licence should be of no effect [n].

In February, 1530, the plan of consulting eminent scholars upon the King's case, was first carried into effect. Henry began with his own universities, and by way of preparing the Cambridge men for such a decision as would be acceptable at court, Cranmer's treatise was first sent down and circulated among his academical friends, many of whom were convinced by the arguments which it contained. Such a conviction was, however, far from general at Cambridge. On the contrary, when Fox and Gardiner came down to that university in the King's name, and endeavoured to obtain from the academical body the expression of an opinion favourable to the divorce, they encountered a very serious and persevering opposition. At length, it was agreed that the matter be referred to a committee, consisting of the vice-chancellor, ten doctors, sixteen

[m] Foxe, 908. [n] Collier, II. 47.

masters of arts, and the two proctors[o]. The majority of these decided that the King's marriage was inconsistent with the law of God; but they did not express any opinion respecting the Pope's claim to a dispensing power.

Nor did Henry meet with better success at Oxford. His application to that university was made through Bishop Longland, of Lincoln, who, as their diocesan, as the visitor of certain colleges, and as the royal confessor, might be reasonably supposed to possess considerable influence over the members of that learned body. With the seniors, probably, such considerations might have some weight, for they discovered a disposition to gratify their sovereign's wishes. But it was far otherwise with the masters of arts. These resisted with so much heat and pertinacity the views of the court, that the question upon which they were called to express an opinion, remained in agitation during two months[p]. At last, after many difficulties, and there is reason to believe, an attempt at intimidation on the part of the crown, and also some underhand management[q], the case was referred to thirty-three doctors and bachelors in divinity. These delegates came to a conclusion, that the marriage of one brother with the widow of another, was contrary to the laws of God and nature: as to the papal power,

[o] Letter from Fox and Gardiner to the King. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, I. 124.

[p] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 134.

[q] Collier, II. 52.

nothing was said. Thus, at neither of the English universities, was it found possible to obtain the expression of such an opinion as materially affected the question at issue; for it still remained to be considered, whether the admitted impediments to the King's marriage were such as a papal dispensation could not safely remove. This unwillingness of Henry's own academics to discuss the prerogatives assumed by the Roman see, was, probably, strengthened by the rising spirit of religious reform, which, in the universities, as in most other places, was daily acquiring a more decided character. It was, indeed, reasonable to expect, that men whose claims to reputation were mainly derived from their proficiency in scholastic theology, and whose hopes of professional advancement appeared to rest on the permanence of existing establishments, should feel great reluctance against encouraging, however indirectly, the principles of those who laboured to depreciate schoolmen and Popes as enemies to the best interests of mankind.

In addition to his application to the Universities, the King submitted his case to the consideration of a young churchman, of whom considerable expectations were then entertained. Reginald Pole[r] was one of the younger sons[s] of Sir Richard Pole, a Welch gentleman, who, being cousin to

[r] He was born in March, 1500. Life, prefixed to an edition of his Epistles. Brixiæ, 1744.

[s] The other sons were Henry, Lord Montague, Geoffrey, and Arthur. Dugdale.

Henry VII[t]. was appointed gentleman of the bedchamber to Prince Arthur, and knight of the garter. Sir Richard married Margaret of York, daughter to George, Duke of Clarence, one of the victims to the cruel policy of his brother, Edward IV. The Lady Margaret had, in the early part of the present reign, been allowed to take possession of the titles and estates which had been enjoyed by her maternal grandfather, Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury[u]: an inheritance that devolved upon her after her brother, the young Earl of Warwick, had expiated on a scaffold the unpardonable crime of being the last male legitimately born to the royal house of Plantagenet. The Countess of Salisbury was left a widow rather early in life, and hence the education of her children had been chiefly conducted by her[x]. Her son Reginald afforded in his youth indications of that literary taste, and of those peaceful habits, which are peculiarly suited to the ecclesiastical profession. With a view to that line of life, accordingly, were his studies principally directed; and as his mother was nearly related to the King, was god-mother to the Lady Mary, and had in a great measure brought up that princess, the young Pole might have reasonably calculated upon attaining the highest dignities in the Church. His sovereign indeed encouraged him, by repeated acts of kindness and liberality, to cherish the most

[t] Parker, 514.
[u] Dugdale.
[x] Life of Pole, prefixed to his Epistles.

sanguine expectations of advancement. When still young, and though not in full orders, the deanery of Exeter [y], with other preferments [z], were conferred upon him with a view of supplying him with funds for the prosecution of his studies upon the continent. Availing himself of the opportunity thus afforded to him, he travelled into Italy, and became a member of the University of Padua. In that capacity his proficiency did honour to his industry and talents. An individual of such illustrious ancestry, who, even as a mere scholar, was entitled to respect, could not fail of acquiring a high degree of literary reputation among his contemporaries. Such, accordingly, was the fortune of Reginald Pole. He was generally esteemed a man of superior abilities and attainments; and, as his morals were correct, his manners soft and courtly, his character stood high in the world for virtue and amiableness of disposition. Had Pole lived at an ordinary time, such inquisitive persons as might in a subsequent age think the particulars of his life worthy of their attention, would have given him full credit for all those exalted qualities of head and heart, which a large number of his acquaintances so freely conceded to him. But his were days which drew out the whole character of every public, active

[y] He was elected to this deanery August 12, 1527. Le Neve, 86.

[z] He was vicar of Piddletown, in Dorsetshire, prebendary of Salisbury, and dean of Winbourn. Godwin, De Præsul. 145, note.

man. He became a man of that description, and the consequence is, that his reputation will not bear the test of rigid and impartial examination. He was induced to advocate the principles which he had espoused, by appearing before the public as an author, a step which has discovered the mediocrity of his parts, the violence of his prejudices, and the illiberality of his disposition. He also allowed himself to be so far led away by party spirit, and sectarian bigotry, as to engage in political intrigues, which exhibit him as ungrateful, undiscerning, and unpatriotic.

However, as Pole's real character did not unfold itself until a subsequent period, the King desired him to draw up a statement of his opinions as to the lawfulness of the marriage which he had contracted. The Dean of Exeter would have gladly excused himself from the task imposed upon him by his kinsman and benefactor; but Henry would hear of no denial, and therefore the work was reluctantly undertaken. When finished it was submitted by the King to Cranmer; and it is only from an incomplete account of it, contained in a letter addressed by that divine to the Earl of Wiltshire, that we know any thing respecting the treatise written by Pole. His arguments appear, from this communication, to have been directed against the proposed divorce, and to have been chiefly of a political nature. He reminded the King of the protracted and sanguinary contests between the rival houses of York and Lancaster; and he reasoned, that similar

evils would probably result again from an attempt to disturb the established order of succession by a marriage of questionable validity. The mischiefs to be apprehended from such a source, he represented, could not fail of being aggravated by the interference of the Emperor, who was bound both by policy and affection, as well as pledged in honour, to oppose the degradation of his aunt, and to support his cousin's claim to the throne. As to the authority of Scripture, Pole said, that, in his opinion, it inclined fully as much to sanction the King's marriage, as to condemn it. Therefore, he reasoned, that as Henry had acted in conformity with the sentiments of many eminent divines confirmed by a dispensation from the Pope, he needed to feel no uneasiness of conscience as to what he had done. Nor, the writer added, was it to be forgotten, that a time when the minds of men were very unsettled upon religious subjects, was extremely ill adapted for the impugning of decisions, which had emanated from a long established and venerable authority.

Cranmer's opinion of this treatise was very far from unfavourable. He spoke advantageously both of its style and matter; adding, that if the piece were published, he could not doubt that it would increase the popular repugnance towards the proposed divorce. In one point, however, he considered that Pole had completely failed. That zealous Romanist appears to have earnestly pressed upon the King the propriety of deferring entirely to the decision of the Pope. Cranmer

was deeply read in Scripture, and in the records of ecclesiastical antiquity; hence he thought very lightly of the papal authority or interference; and therefore, in animadverting upon Pole's advice respecting the Pope, he said, in that "he seemeth to lack much judgment; and though he presseth it with such goodly eloquence both of words and sentence, that he were likely to persuade many, yet me he persuadeth in that point nothing at all [a]."

[a] Letter from Dr. Cranmer to the Earl of Wiltshire, dated from Hampton Court, June 13, (1530.) Strype, Mem. Cranm. Appendix, 675.

CHAPTER II

An embassy sent to Italy—The Earl of Wiltshire's introduction to the Pope—Opinions respecting the divorce expressed by universities and private scholars—Conduct of the Reformers—Statement of the question—Cranmer's residence at Rome—The Pope temporizes—Memorial of the English aristocracy—The admission of papal bulls into England restrained—Arrest and death of Wolsey—The clergy prosecuted under the statute of provisors—The King acknowledged supreme head of the English Church—Bilney—Bayfield—Tewksbury—Bainham—The payment of Annates restrained—The convocation admits the King's power to controul its proceedings—Message to the Commons respecting the divorce—Ineffectual attempt to obtain the Queen's concurrence in Henry's views—Correspondence between the King and the Pope—A new commission despatched to Rome—Cranmer transfers his residence to the imperial court—The diet of Worms—Concealment of Luther—The diet of Nuremberg—The first diet of Spire—The second diet of Spire—The PROTEST *against its decrees—Disgust of the Emperor—Affairs of Hungary—The diet of Augsburg—The league of Smalcald—The pacification of Nuremberg—The Turkish invasion of Hungary—Cranmer's negociations—His marriage—The Eucharistic controversy.*

THOUGH naturally impetuous, and, from his situation in life, little used to have his will disputed, though weary of his marriage with Catharine, and impatient for the time when the beautiful object of his affections should become his bride, Henry neither adopted any hasty measures to gratify his desires, nor did he abandon in disgust

that mode of proceeding, which was sanctioned by the public opinion. He had determined upon the dissolution of his subsisting engagement, upon the formation of a new one, and upon the accomplishment of these resolutions under the Pope's authority. Great as were evidently the difficulties in his way, arising from the tedious and interested system of procrastination adopted by the court of Rome, as well as from the means possessed by the Emperor either to serve or injure the selfish and timid pontiff, Henry was not deterred by the prospect of these obstructions from the prosecution of his object, nor disposed to accomplish his purpose at once in defiance of Clement's assumed prerogatives. He could not rest satisfied until his marriage was dissolved by the same authority that had allowed him to contract it: so that while he gratified his love for Anne Boleyn, his conduct should be solemnly pronounced no other than such as became a man of religion and integrity. In the hope, therefore, that if the principal scholars in Europe should be found to approve of his proposed divorce, Clement would no longer hesitate as to sanctioning it, the King sent an embassy to the continent, at once to obtain the opinions of the learned, and to solicit from the papal court a bull in conformity with the decisions anticipated from the foreign universities. At the head of this commission was the Earl of Wiltshire, under whose directions were placed three divines, with an equal number of civilians. The divines were Dr. John Stokes-

ley, Bishop of London elect, Dr. Edward Lee, afterwards Archbishop of York, and Dr. Cranmer. The civilians were the doctors Tregonnel, Karne, and Benet[a].

When the English embassy arrived in Italy, the Pope was still at Bologna, whither he had gone for the purpose of meeting the Emperor. Charles had left Spain in August, 1529[b], and had proceeded, in all the pomp of sovereignty and conquest, to receive at the pontiff's hands the imperial and the iron crown[c]. He made his entry into Bologna with extraordinary magnificence; and being conducted to the church of St. Petronius, he there found Clement seated on a lofty throne, and displaying the embroidered slipper, which faithful Papists think themselves so happy in pressing to their lips. The conqueror of Rome stooped for the purpose of going through this edifying ceremony; but his holiness declined the proffered homage, and graciously saluted his imperial visitant on the cheek[d]. The formalities

[a] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 13. It is perhaps probable, that Cranmer did not leave England at the same time with the Earl of Wiltshire. His letter to that nobleman upon the subject of Pole's treatise, shews, from its date, that both he and his patron were at home in June, (1530, as it must be presumed, though no year is specified:) the Earl, it seems, had returned before that time, and Cranmer, it is likely, did not go abroad until afterwards.

[b] Robertson, Charles V. II. 320.

[c] The latter as King of Lombardy. The assumption of the iron crown by Buonaparte is fresh in the public recollection.

[d] Herbert, 135. This historian has preserved a curious ob-

of the day being concluded, Charles and Clement took up their residence under the same roof, and during nearly five months, these two distinguished men, lately the objects of each other's aversion, were contained within the same walls, and exhibited every mark of mutual friendship [e].

It augured no good to the success of Lord Wiltshire's mission, that the peer should have been introduced to Clement while in the full fruition of imperial intimacy. However, he was kindly received at Bologna, and introduced into the presence of his holiness with the usual formalities. Unluckily the Earl had brought with him from England an humble friend, in the shape of a favourite spaniel. This four-footed companion he allowed to follow at his heels when he entered the presence-chamber of St. Peter's supposed successor. On approaching this venerated personage, the gaily-decorated foot was protruded from beneath his robe in the plenitude of papal courtesy, and the ambassador bent for the purpose of enjoying the accustomed gratification. Clement's temper was none of the best, and his guests, how-

servation made by Dr. Crook, who was a spectator of Charles's magnificent entry into Bologna. Many of the cardinals "had their robes or vestures of a violet colour, instead of scarlet, appearing for the rest, as the same Crook relates, in their fashions somewhat *soldier-like*."

[e] Charles entered Bologna about the beginning of November. (Herbert, 135.) He was crowned by the Pope on the 24th of February, 1530, that being his natal day, and he left Bologna on the 22d of the following month. Rapin, 787.

ever he might smile upon them, must have been very far from welcome. Perhaps, therefore, the pontifical slipper might have been brought forward with unseemly haste, and as the noble Englishman stooped to render the expected obeisance, his faithful dog might have fancied that an injury or an insult awaited him. Certain it is, that the spaniel sprang forward, and seized with his teeth the embroidered slipper. Stung by a sense of the danger which threatened his toes, and of the indignity put upon his character, Clement, with the other foot, kicked the dog away; while the English party, losing all thought of the gravity befitting occasions of state, loudly gave vent to an uncontroulable burst of laughter[f]. This complication of all that was aukward, completely disconcerted the irritable Pope. He made no farther attempt to obtain an English salute for his nether end[g], and Wiltshire found himself

[f] Parker, 485. "Now whether the spaniel perceived the bishop's foot to be of another nature than it ought to be, and so taking it to be some kind of repast, or whether it was the will of God to shew some token by a dog unto the bishop of his inordinate pride, that his feet were more meet to be bitten of dogs than kissed of Christian men; the spaniel, I say, when the bishop extended his foot to be kissed, no man regarding the same, straightway, as though he had been of purpose appointed thereunto, went directly to the Pope's feet, and not only kissed the same unmannerly, but, as some plainly reported and affirmed, took fast with his mouth the great toe of the Pope, so that in haste he pulled in his glorious feet from the spaniel." Foxe, 1689.

[g] Speed says, that the ambassador declined the honour of kissing the Pope's foot, because he did not choose that his own lips should follow his dog's so closely.

obliged to enter upon business without having been admitted to a privilege, upon which, it appeared, an Emperor had recently calculated.

The ambassador, however, soon perceived that Clement, in furtherance of the Emperor's policy, was little disposed to abandon his system of evasion and delay. In the hope, therefore, of obliging him at length to adopt a more ingenuous course, the best scholars in Europe were actively canvassed by English agents for their opinions upon the King's case. In France this plan fully succeeded according to Henry's wishes[h]. The doctors of the Sorbonne, after a long deliberation, pronounced, "that the marrying of a brother's widow was so clearly prohibited by natural and revealed religion, that it is not within the Pope's authority to dispense with such a connexion." In this decision four other French universities concurred[i]. It may perhaps be supposed, that the influence of Francis, who was desirous of gratifying the English monarch, and of mortifying

[h] The French universities had been consulted upon Henry's case in the preceding year, 1529, by the advice of Wolsey. Hence Collier (II. 52.) will not admit that the suggestion attributed to Cranmer, proceeded from him. But it is to be observed, that the novelty of Cranmer's advice consisted in disencumbering the question of the Pope. It had been considered at the outset, whether the impediments to Henry's marriage were merely canonical, or were contrary to the Divine law. Cranmer probably thought, that if competent judges generally should pronounce them of the latter kind, the King would be justified in repudiating Catharine, whether the Pope were willing or not.

[i] Collier, II. 54.

the Emperor, might have procured these decisions; but it should be recollected, that Henry had not been able to obtain such a judgment from his own universities. Hence it is reasonable to conclude, that the learned in general were far from being the mere tools of their respective governments, but rather that they gave utterance to the honest conviction of their minds. If, however, there be any doubt upon this subject, it must be to a considerable extent removed by the success which the English agents encountered beyond the Alps. If the power of the Emperor and the Pope could be expected to influence the scholars of any country, it must be those of Italy, who had so much to hope and to fear from those great potentates. But the Italian divines and canonists appear to have been scarcely less disposed to maintain the validity of Henry's marriage than those of France. Even at Bologna, where was seated the principal university in the papal territories, in spite of the threats and intrigues employed by both the Emperor and the Pope, the opinions of competent judges were generally in favour of the divorce[k]. Dr. Crook obtained an expression of similar sentiments from eighty Italian scholars of eminence. He added, in the despatch communicating this intelligence to the English court, that the judgments of thirty more to the same effect were burnt by means of imperial and papal menaces and artifices[l]. These

[k] Letter from Stokesley, dated June 13. Herbert, 140.

[l] Ibid.

facts undoubtedly tend to vindicate Henry from much of that obloquy, which his repudiation of Catharine has fastened upon him. Although it may be true, that he had become impatient of his connexion with a wife who had lost her personal attractions, and that his uneasiness was augmented by the violence of a new passion; yet it is certain that public opinion, even in the most respectable quarters, reprobated his marriage as one that ought never to have been contracted. Something, therefore, must in fairness be conceded to the King's conscientious scruples, by those who are anxious to take a sound view of this memorable affair. It may indeed be supposed, as it has often been said, that the scholars who expressed opinions adverse to the Aragonese marriage, were bribed by Henry's agents. Nor need it be denied, that such probably might be the fact in some cases. To the discredit of human nature it must be owned, that there are men, even among those classes in which illiberality is all but inexcusable, who view every service that they have an opportunity of rendering to others, merely as a source of pecuniary gain. Some of these mercenary spirits, there can be no doubt, contributed their venal testimony to strengthen the case against Henry's marriage. But such men are always ready for the best bidder. Hence Charles and Clement might calculate upon their services with at least as much security as the King of England. Nor, in truth, did these great personages fail, by means of pecuniary presents and

ecclesiastical preferments, to engage the suffrages of some interested scholars [m]. Upon the whole, however, there is good reason to believe, that the opinions unfavourable to the lawfulness of Henry's connexion with Catharine, were in most cases fairly given. Many of those consulted refused a gratuity, though offered [n]; and the bulk of those who took one, appear to have been canonists dependent for a subsistence upon written solutions of questions submitted to their consideration [o].

It is honourable to the memory of the first Protestants, that important to them as it was to oblige the King, and pledged, as they were, to resist papal encroachments, it was found impossible to obtain from them a general expression of an opinion in unison with Henry's views. When the English agents were engaged in consulting the divines and canonists of Italy, many Lutherans were in that country, but these declined giving any encouragement to the proposed divorce [p]. In Switzerland, however, there was a disposition among the Reformers to take a different course. Zuingle particularly expressed a decided conviction, that the marriage with Catharine was unlawful, and ought immediately to be dissolved [q].

[m] "Cæsar minis, precibus, pretio, et sacerdotiis, partim territat nostros, partim confirmat suos." Extract from one of Crook's letters, dated August 31. Herbert, 140.

[n] Ibid.

[o] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 141.

[p] Collier, II. 55.

[q] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 146.

The German Protestants were desirous of avoiding any discussion of the question; but when they found that to be impossible, they generally condemned the idea of a divorce, not indeed upon the ground that the King's marriage was one that ought to have been contracted, but because they thought, that having subsisted so long, it ought not now to be dissolved. Different views, however, of the question, were taken by different individuals of eminence among the Reformers; and the only point in which probably they all agreed, was, that the papal authority could in no degree affect the merits of the case[r].

This case may be thus briefly stated. Those who supported the divorce maintained, that the Mosaic prohibition[s] against the marrying of a brother's wife, was an integral part of the moral law; hence not to be dispensed with by any human authority whatsoever. On the contrary, the opposite party argued, that the prohibition originally bore no such character, and was now merely an ecclesiastical regulation, with which the head of the Church was undoubtedly competent to dispense[t]. The principal scriptural ground upon which these reasoners rested, was the Mosaic

[r] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 147.

[s] "If a man shall take his brother's wife, it is an unclean thing, he hath uncovered his brother's nakedness; they shall be childless." (Levit. xx. 21.) This curse of childlessness, Henry thought had fallen upon him in the death of his male offspring by Catharine.

[t] "Lex imposita et ecclesiastica." Sanderus de Schism.

regulation, which assigned the widow of a childless man to his next brother as a wife [u]. This law, however, it was contended by those who advocated the opposite opinion, was intended only to operate among the Israelites in Canaan, where God willed that the inheritances of particular families should descend in an unbroken line. Each party advanced many plausible arguments in support of its opinion; but perhaps those who maintained Henry's marriage to be contrary to the moral law, must be considered as having come to the sounder conclusion; because it is obvious that regulations upon marriage were chiefly imposed for the purpose of preventing domestic licentiousness; and upon this ground it is desirable, that a connexion with a sister-in-law should be absolutely forbidden.

While the principal European scholars were engaged in the anxious discussion of these questions, Cranmer arrived in Italy. As an ecclesiastic, his professional rank was but moderate; since he was no more than archdeacon of Taunton [x].

[u] "If brethren dwell together, and one of them die, and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without, unto a stranger; her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her. And it shall be, that the first born which she beareth shall succeed in the name of the brother which is dead, *that his name be not put out in Israel.*" Deut. xxv. 5, 6.

[x] So appointed, according to Le Neve, (47.) in 1522. Archbishop Parker says of him: "A rege archidiaconus Tauntonensis creabatur." (De Antiqu. Brit. Eccl. 496.) It is not easy to reconcile these two accounts with each other, and with

But his treatise against the King's marriage had preceded him; and the high estimation in which he was held both by his sovereign, and by the more learned of his countrymen, was sufficiently notorious at the papal court: hence Clement complimented him soon after his arrival, by nominating him general penitentiary of England. This piece of civility did not, however, abate the zeal with which the English doctor was prepared to advocate the doctrines which he had broached at home. He at once professed his readiness to support, by verbal arguments, the positions which he had already reduced to writing. These might be comprised in two leading particulars; of which the first asserted, that no man could marry his brother's widow, consistently with the Divine law; and the second, that the Pope has no authority to dispense with such a marriage. To admit the truth of these propositions, would have been to surrender at once these assumed prerogatives, which had formed, during so long a period, the chief sources of wealth and influence to the Roman see. Such an admission, therefore, was not to be expected at the court of his Holiness. At the same time, to confute Cranmer by argument, was not likely to prove an easy undertaking. As,

the received date of Henry's acquaintance with Cranmer. Perhaps, however, Cranmer might have been preferred through the crown, as clergyman constantly are, without being personally known to the sovereign; or the archdeaconry of Taunton might have continued vacant since the last incumbent's death in 1522, but not have been conferred upon Cranmer until the year 1529.

however, a peremptory refusal to discuss these propositions would have amounted to a tacit confession of weakness, which the court of Rome could not make without gross impolicy, a readiness to argue with the English doctor was openly professed. As might have been foreseen, various pretences were contrived from time to time to elude an appointment for the desired disputation. Nor, although Cranmer remained in Italy during several months, was he ever allowed the promised opportunity of arguing publicly upon the positions which he had maintained in his treatise. In private conversation with individuals, he had the satisfaction to meet with those whose sentiments accorded with his own; and in the Rota, the Pope's principal court, it was not denied, that Henry's marriage was unlawful. Farther than this, men connected with such a court, could not be expected to go; since it was hardly to be supposed, that those who were wholly dependent upon the Papacy, would easily be brought to admit, that it possessed no power to grant dispensations in such cases as Henry's [y].

It is evident that the court of Rome must have been greatly embarrassed by the applications with which it was pressed from England. The time, indeed, was highly critical. Already had the papal authority been not only disclaimed in a great part of Germany and Switzerland; but in

[y] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 13.

Denmark[z] and Sweden[a] it might be considered as nearly annihilated. In France, in Italy, and even in Spain[b] also, the scattered remains of the primitive Church were acquiring every day an accession of numbers, boldness, and talents. Thus was the spiritual domination so long established in the West, literally nodding to its fall, nor was there a reasonable hope that, without the strenuous aid of the civil power, Popery could long maintain its existence. To trifle, therefore, with the feelings of a powerful monarch, reigning over a people among whom Protestant principles were rapidly making their way, was very far

[z] So early as the year 1520, Reinard, a disciple of Carlostadt, was invited from Saxony by Christian II. In 1527, liberty of conscience was freely conceded to the Danes; in 1539, the work of Reformation was completed among them, under the auspices of Christian III. a Prince every way worthy of the task. Mosheim, IV. 83.

[a] Olave Peterson, a disciple of Luther, propagated his master's principles in Sweden, soon after the great Saxon Reformer's rupture with Rome. Gustavus Vasa then filled the Swedish throne, and gave encouragement to this herald of Scriptural Christianity. In 1527, it was unanimously agreed by the national legislature, that Lutheranism should be freely admitted among the Swedes. (Mosheim, IV. 80.) It appears that Popery prevailed in Sweden, as elsewhere, chiefly from the popular ignorance of God's recorded Word; for the New Testament, in the vernacular idiom, was a principal instrument of conversion with the reformers in that country. Gerdes, III. 291.

[b] That is, in Aragon. The reason why there are few, or, it may be, no traces of the ancient Spanish Church in the south, are obvious. That portion of the peninsula was long overrun by the Moors.

from being the soundest policy on Clement's part. Nor is it probable that his Holiness adopted this hazardous course without uneasiness. But though a man of penetration, he was destitute of firmness. Nor could he make up his mind to allow the interference of any consideration with his own interest, and with the aggrandizement of the Medicean family, so little honoured by the mode of his connexion with it. Therefore, as these two things mainly depended upon the will of the Emperor, that Prince's influence over the papal councils was unbounded. Hence, whatever disposition the pontiff might personally have felt to comply with Henry's desire, he would not venture upon any step likely to injure himself and his own connexions. Charles, however, absolutely refused to abandon his aunt's and his cousin's cause. The utmost length to which he would consent to go for Henry's gratification, was to admit the expediency of allowing him to marry a second wife while Catharine yet survived. He seems to have thought that if his uncle were permitted to espouse Anne Boleyn by something like what is termed in Germany, a left-handed marriage, there would be no objection started to the continuance of the present Queen in her rank and title, or to that of the Lady Mary, in the existing order of succession. It seems that Clement would have been glad to escape from the difficulties of his situation, by sanctioning this disgraceful expedient; and Casali, the English resident at Rome, communicated to his master,

that, upon proper application, he might probably obtain the papal licence for the gratification of his wishes in this manner [c].

But Henry was bent upon obtaining a divorce in the regular way; and in order that no inducement might be wanting likely to work upon the pontiff, he procured the signatures of the principal members of the English aristocracy to a remonstrance, which was duly transmitted to Rome. This document chiefly presses upon his Holiness the opinions expressed upon the King's case by so many competent judges, and prays him not to withstand an arrangement sanctioned by such a weight of authority. Since, however, judging from the past, the memorialists might reasonably apprehend that these considerations were likely to receive no great attention at the papal court; an intimation was given to Clement, that if he should disappoint the reasonable expectations of the applicants, their sovereign's cause would be decided in England, without the intervention of the Roman see. The two Archbishops, Warham and Wolsey, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Marquesses of Dorset and Exeter, thirteen Earls, four Bishops, twenty-five Barons, twenty-two Abbots, and eleven individuals of inferior quality, affixed their signatures to this memorial [d].

[c] "Some days ago, the Pope, in private, offered to me this proposal, as a thing of which he made much account, that your Majesty might have a dispensation to have two wives." Letter from Casali, dated Rome, September 18, 1530. Herbert, 141.

[d] Ibid.

The uneasiness caused at Rome on the receipt of this mixture of argument and menace, is plainly discovered by the haste with which an answer to it was returned. After about two months[e] from the date of the English memorial, the Pope deigned to excuse himself to the remonstrants, in very moderate language, for his conduct towards their sovereign. He admits, indeed, that the delays of his agents were intentional, but he alleges that they flowed from a desire, on his part, to administer impartial justice between the distinguished parties to the pending suit[f]. He asserts, that the sole reason why the proceedings were then wholly suspended, arose from the neglect of the King, who had not obeyed the citation to Rome, necessarily issued in order to satisfy the reasonable expectations entertained by the Queen and her friends. With respect to the intimation contained in the memorial, that if the cause were not speedily decided by the Pope, other means would be taken for bringing it to an issue; his Holiness pronounces such a menace to be neither worthy of the prudence, nor suitable to the Christian principles of those who addressed

[e] The English memorial is dated July 13, Clement's reply is dated September 27.

[f] "Seeking rather that this controversy might be finished by the agreeable methods of peace and concord, than by the course of law, we framed several delays in granting our commission of appeal in the said cause, under pretence, that this being a cause of the highest nature, must therefore be brought before the consistory." Herbert, 146.

him: he therefore intreats them to lay aside all such thoughts.

It was not without reason that this tone, so different from that which had usually been adopted by the sovereign Pontiffs, was made to characterize Clement's answer. Before that answer could arrive in England, Henry had issued a royal proclamation[s], prohibiting the admission into his dominions of any bull from Rome, which should interfere with his prerogatives. It was supposed that this decisive step was taken under an apprehension that Wolsey might endeavour to retrieve his fallen fortunes by means of some application to the Pontiff: an opinion which is rendered probable by the severity which was now practised towards the unhappy Cardinal.

That eminent example of fortune's caprice had removed in the beginning of the last Lent from the lodge in Richmond Park to apartments in the neighbouring Carthusian monastery, fitted up some years before by Dean Colet, for his own accommodation, when he should wish for retirement in the country. Among the inmates of the house was an aged monk, with whom Wolsey spent much of his time in religious conversation, thereby acquiring, it is to be hoped, and there is reason to believe, such views of what he had lost, and of that for which rational beings are destined, as prepared his mind for his approaching departure from the stage of life, on which he had

[s] September 19. Ibid. 141.

played a part so conspicuous. His political rivals, however, doubted not that he panted for the vanities which had been wrested from him, and they never ceased to represent the propriety of obliging him to reside upon his archbishopric of York. At length, he received an order to remove into that part of the kingdom, and when he urged that he did not possess the funds needed for the journey, an advance of a thousand marks was made to him from his Winchester pension, and afterwards a thousand pounds were sent to him from the King. He then reluctantly turned his back upon the metropolis, and in Passion week commenced his melancholy journey. His retinue was much less imposing than that by which he had usually been attended in more prosperous times, but it was still magnificent. One hundred and sixty servants travelled in his suite, and seventy-two carts laden with necessaries for the way and with household furniture, brought up the rear. He first settled his numerous establishment at Southwell, where was a mansion belonging to the see of York, which he caused to be repaired, and into which he removed at Whitsuntide. In this abode, the fallen minister displayed a new and a highly amiable character. He was exemplary in the discharge of his professional duties, hospitable, courteous, easy of access, and charitable. Some time after Midsummer, he proceeded farther into the north, perhaps in consequence of orders from court, and fixed his residence at Scroby, another house appended to his see. There

too the fame of his piety, his alms-deeds, and his affability, soon filled all the surrounding country. At length, about the end of September, he reached Cawood, a village within a few miles of York, where was a castellated mansion belonging to the primates of the northern province. The house was not in a condition fit for his reception, and with that magnificent spirit which characterized the man, he immediately employed three hundred workmen to improve it. Besides this seasonable expenditure among the artisans, Wolsey employed at Cawood the same pure and solid means to win the hearts of his neighbours, which had dignified every part of his residence upon his diocese. The sick and helpless who lived near his castle largely partook of his freely-flowing charities, the gentry around him were gratified by his attentions to them, feuds and animosities were appeased by his judicious mediation, and the Cardinal was establishing in retirement a fame far more substantial, though less dazzling than that which had played around him on a more conspicuous theatre.

Wolsey had not long been settled at Cawood, before he determined to shew himself in the metropolitical chair of that most majestic of English cathedrals, which proudly towers over the ancient city of York. The dean informed him, that, according to established usage, his installation must first be accomplished, and for that ceremony, preparations were made, upon an extensive scale, indeed, but at the Cardinal's desire, with a

degree of magnificence, far inferior to that which had been wont on similar occasions. The first Monday in November was assigned to this ostentatious formality, and the neighbouring gentry made spontaneously the most liberal preparations for celebrating, with all the profusion of northern hospitality, their diocesan's personal assumption of his official seat. However, on the Friday preceding the expected day, Wolsey's former attendant, Henry Percy, now Earl of Northumberland, arrived at Cawood, and arrested, in the King's name, his old patron, on a charge of high treason. As the Cardinal left his castle in custody, a multitude of sorrowing peasants thronged around the gate, and cheered his melancholy by sounding in his ears, "God save your grace, God save your grace! the foul fiend take them that have thus hurried you from us! We pray God that a very vengeance may light upon them!" The populace of Doncaster displayed a similar feeling. The desponding Cardinal arrived in that town after night-fall; but the streets were crowded by the towns-people bearing lights before the cavalcade, and invoking blessings on the prisoner, curses on his enemies[h]. At Sheffield Park, he stayed above a fortnight with the Earl of Shrewsbury, and there, either the agitation of his spirits, or the sudden assault of some constitutional infirmity, threw him into a serious illness[i].

[h] Cavendish, 522.

[i] It has been often supposed, that Wolsey poisoned himself,

While his malady was in active operation, he resumed his journey, but at Leicester his strength wholly failed him. He was conducted to the abbey which then adorned that town, and at its portal he found the abbot, with all his convent, waiting for their distinguished guest. "Father abbot," said the exhausted traveller, "I am come to leave my bones among you." He was then borne on his mule's back to the foot of the staircase leading to his apartment, and rather carried than assisted into that chamber which formed his last earthly resting place. Before he closed his eyes in death, he desired Kingston, the lieutenant of the tower, to whose custody he was entrusted, to receive his last instructions, in which he desired that the King should be intreated to suppress Lutheranism among his subjects, and he mournfully reflected, in these memorable words,

but this appears, on considering the circumstances of his death, rather unlikely. It is certain that his malady seized him at Sheffield castle, (Cavendish, 528,) and he did not die till a week after he was attacked. Lord Herbert says, "a wind-colic, which ended in a dysentery, took him at the Earl of Shrewsbury's;" a judgment of his case drawn evidently from Cavendish, who witnessed the origin and progress of his disorder. It is, however, probable, that a medicine which he took for his relief, hastened his end. Speed relates, that he died in consequence of "taking an overmuch quantity of a confection, to break the wind off his stomach." That the remedy which he took was injurious, is evident from Cavendish, and that fact being notorious, it is no wonder that an opinion should have prevailed of his having, instead of a drug to relieve his bodily sufferings, taken some deadly potion, with a view to terminate his then unhappy life.

upon the course which he had himself pursued, "If I had served my God as diligently as I have done the King, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the just reward of my diligent pains, and study to do him service; not regarding my service to God, but only to satisfy his pleasure." Soon after uttering this ever-needed warning, the sinking patient resigned his breath[k], and thus the man who had realised the most extravagant objects of human ambition, to an extent never before seen in England, was humbled in the dust.

The severity with which Wolsey was treated, was, however, not the only indication which appeared at this time of Henry's growing indifference for the Papacy. Soon after the Cardinal's death, a prosecution was instituted in the Court of King's Bench, at the suit of the crown, against the whole clergy of England, for having submitted to that legatine authority which the deceased minister had exercised, in defiance, as it had appeared, of the statute of provisors[l]. The hardship, not to say the tyranny, of subjecting a body of men to a judicial process for acquiescing under an authority which few, probably, knew to be illegal, and which none could resist, was intolerable. But the clergy had become obnoxious to the King, because they were generally unfavourable to his divorce; they had lost much of

[k] November 29, 1530. Le Neve, 310.

[l] Herbert, 151.

their hold upon public opinion from the progress of the Reformation; hence they were in a great measure defenceless, and could scarcely doubt, that if their case should come to a hearing, it would be pronounced that they had incurred the penalties of a præmunire.

The prospect of being thus laid wholly prostrate at the feet of their now alienated sovereign, justly filled the clerical body with the utmost uneasiness, and when its representatives met in Convocation, at the beginning of the year 1531, they were prepared, by their fears, to display no common subserviency to the views of the court. As a peace-offering, the Convocation of the southern province voted to the King the enormous sum of one hundred thousand pounds, by way of benevolence, as it was stated, in order to acknowledge his Majesty's services to the Church, in writing against Luther, in repressing heresy, and in protecting the clergy against the insults of their enemies. It was, however, understood, that this liberal vote was to be followed by an order from the crown to stay the proceedings in the court of King's Bench; but the Convocation cautiously abstained from the mention of this in their grant. But this pecuniary supply alone would not satisfy the King. It was at first proposed that the benevolence should be offered to him as "Sole protector, and supreme head of the Church and clergy of England." Humbled and alarmed as was the clerical body, this title was absolutely rejected, as conceived in ambi-

guous and exceptionable terms. An attempt was then made to obtain the recognition of the King as supreme head of the national church, "after God:" this also failed; and Archbishop Warham at length moved, that his Majesty should be styled "supreme head, so far as it is allowed by the law of Christ." After a considerable debate, this last title was approved by the Convocation of Canterbury, and thus Henry found himself recognised by the larger portion of his clerical subjects as the possessor of some undefined authority over the ecclesiastical establishment [m].

This acknowledgment appears not only to have given satisfaction at court, but also to such individuals among the people as had adopted the principles of the Reformation; a circumstance remarked with pain by the clergy. This feeling was discovered when the Convocation of the northern province assembled. The members of that body were sufficiently disposed to gratify the crown by the offer of a benevolence, and they voted a supply under this designation, amounting to eighteen thousand and forty pounds; but they shewed the utmost repugnance against conceding to the King even that qualified style, which had been allowed by their brethren in London [n]. As the vacancy made by Wolsey's death had not been supplied, Bishop Tunstall, recently translated to

[m] Collier, II. 62.

[n] "Cujus (Eccl. sc.) singularem protectorem, unicum et supremum dominum, et quantum per Christi legem licet, etiam supremum caput ipsius Majestatem recognoscimus." Ibid. 63.

Durham, took precedence over every other ecclesiastic in the province of York, and he ventured to remonstrate with the King by letter against the addition made to the royal titles with the sanction of the southern clergy. "That innovation," wrote Tunstall, "has been already productive of inconveniences, inasmuch as heretics recently under prosecution have pleaded it in order to skreen themselves from punishment, inferring from it that the power of ordinaries is now not so extensive as it has been. If, therefore, it be desired of the clergy to recognise the supremacy of the crown, it should be clearly defined that this recognition extends only to secular affairs." The King wrote by way of answer, "That the Bishop's own refinements had needlessly perplexed the question; that Christ, being the admitted head of his Church, her temporal affairs naturally fell under the cognizance of the crown, her spiritual ones under that of the prelacy; that the limitations assigned by the Bishop to the prince's interference were not warranted by Scripture, and were evidently, as is seen from the laws of Justinian, unknown in the Christian Church during the earliest period of her establishment; and that, although the ministration of God's Word and Sacraments was a matter of ecclesiastical regulation, yet the conduct of the ministers, even in the exercise of their function, was properly subjected to the controul of the civil power[o]." At length the

[o] Collier, II. 63.

firmness of the King in insisting upon his right to the supreme direction of all affairs within his dominions, whether ecclesiastical or civil, prevailed; and the whole clergy of England assembled in Convocation were thus pledged as to the soundness of that principle, which claims for every independent political society, the complete regulation of its domestic arrangements [p]. This recog-

[p] This concession made by the clergy was in fact nothing more than the recognition of a right exercised by the English kings before the Conquest. "Thus Athelstan, when he published his ecclesiastical laws, tells us he did it with the counsel of his bishops." (Wake's Authority of Christian Princes. Lond. 1697. 162.) "I know of no (synod) more ancient than that which was held before King Oswy and his son, at Streanshealch, in the monastery of Hilda, concerning the time of Easter, the form of tonsure, and, as Florence of Worcester adds, some other ecclesiastical matters. Whether King Oswy, by his authority, called this synod, it does not appear: this we know, that he not only consented to the meeting of it, but also sat with his son in it, and managed the debates of it. He proposed the business for which they met, and at last finally resolved what was to be held to, with reference to the points that had been debated." (Ibid. 166.) That this synod should have worn the appearance of being so completely subjected to the civil power, is the more remarkable, because its objects were purely Romish. It was holden in 664; and the mode in which matters were conducted in it, is an evident proof that the pretensions of the Papacy to an universal sacerdotal empire, were then only in embryo. In the synod of Hatfield, holden in 680, to enquire into the faith of the English Churches as to the Monothelite question, (Collier, I. 107.) "that King Egfride was present, we are expressly informed." (Wake, 168.) "At the council of Cloveshoe, *anno* 742, not only Æthelbald, King of the Mercians, presided, but his princes and officers were present too. Yet this was properly an ecclesiastical synod, and the matters transacted in it all re-

nition made by the ecclesiastical body was then confirmed by act of Parliament[q], and a formal indemnity from the crown allayed the fears of the clergy[r] as to any liabilities which they might have incurred by their submission to Wolsey's legatine authority.

It was not long after the King and the Reformers had been gratified by the admission of the clergy, that English authorities were competent to the conducting of all the national affairs, before a fierce persecution was excited against those

lated to the Church. Nor is this so much to be wondered at, seeing in the legatine synods, held by Gregory and Theophylact, sent hither by Pope Adrian I. for that purpose; our kings not only directed the assembling of them, but, together with their nobles, sat in them: and to testify their consent to what was done, together with their lords, as well as bishops, subscribed to the acts of them." (Wake, 168.) "It is sufficiently evident from the instances I have already given," (several are cited,) "that whatsoever the synod or council were, in which the affairs of the Church were transacted, they depended entirely upon the princes' authority," (before the Conquest,) "who, for the most part, determined what was needful concerning them in the great councils of their realms; and when they did not, yet still kept the management, even of their ecclesiastical convocations, in their own hands; and suffered them not either to meet, act, or establish any thing, but according to their good pleasure." Ibid. 173.

[q] Fuller, 184.

[r] "They promising for the future to make no constitution, or execute any, without the King's leave." (Herbert, 151.) As the laity had submitted to Wolsey's authority, not less than the clergy, the House of Commons desired to be included in the indemnity; and this request, after some little appearance of difficulty, was granted. Ibid.

who derived their religion from Scripture, and not from Papal Rome. The most remarkable victim that perished at this time was Thomas Bilney, a Norfolk man, who was fellow of Trinity Hall, in Cambridge. This martyr's stature was diminutive, his health delicate, his turn of mind inclining to melancholy. He seems to have been seized early in life with that painful sense of human corruption, and that eager aspiration after more than human holiness, which sometimes give a morbid tinge to spirits warmed by genuine piety. Full of self-condemnation, he was ever disclosing his griefs in confession, and praying for advice as to how he could subdue the evil, which his too sensitive mind saw and exaggerated within him. He was directed to fast, and practise other mortifications, to purchase indulgences, and to offer masses. He did these things, but melancholy still weighed down his soul. At length a friend mentioned to him the New Testament, lately published by Erasmus, highly commending the manner in which the work was executed. Bilney, upon this recommendation, bought the book; not, however, so much with a view to comfort or instruction, as under an expectation of being delighted by the perusal of agreeable matter, enlivened by the graces of composition[1]. His purchase gave a new and an irresistible impulse to his thoughts. He pondered with absorbing atten-

[1] Letter from Bilney to Tunstall, Bishop of London. Foxe, 916.

tion the words of eternal life; and now discerned, in the sacrifice of the cross, a refuge from the misery by which he had so long been haunted; the ascetic exercises hitherto prescribed as medicines adapted to heal his wounded spirit, he at once considered merely as delusive palliatives; he felt that he, and those around him, had been deceived in points of vital importance; nor could he refrain from raising his voice to warn others of a precipice, down which, he believed, he had himself nearly fallen. His zeal, it may be, his enthusiasm, then excited him to set all hazard at defiance. He laboured to disseminate his opinions among his fellow-academics; and Latimer, with others, became his converts. He preached earnestly in the neighbourhood of London against pilgrimages, penances, the invocation of saints, and perhaps every other peculiarity of Popery, except transubstantiation, a doctrine which he held firmly to the last. As might have been expected, this conduct exposed him to a prosecution for heresy; of which he was convicted; but sentence being purposely delayed, in the interval his own fears, and the intreaties of his friends, overcame his resolution, and he recanted.

After this escape from imminent danger, he returned to Cambridge, where his constitutional melancholy seized upon him with greater violence than ever. The cheerfulness once infused into his mind by the contemplation of Scriptural Christianity, the excitement arising from the communication to others of the knowledge ac-

quired by himself, were exchanged for the intolerable gloom of a corroding, indolent despair. His meals were taken without appetite or relish; the kind attentions of his friends were received with stagnant apathy; religious topics even no longer afforded him consolation. He viewed himself as an apostate and a reprobate; one who, for the sake of lingering upon earth during a few years of iniquity and misery, had basely denied his Saviour, stupidly bartered away the inestimable prize which had lately been the anchor of his hope, and perfidiously lured others to destruction. Such were the horrors engendered by the constant attrition of these gloomy thoughts, that those who loved him, apprehensive of some suicidal act, anxiously watched over him both night and day. For more than a year he continued thus to struggle with despair. At last he came one night into the college-hall, bade farewell to certain of his friends, and told them that he had set his face to go to Jerusalem[t]. His meaning was soon apparent. When next heard of, he was in Norfolk, where, first among his family connexions, afterwards openly in the fields, he boldly preached the doctrines which he had once abjured, and exhorted his hearers, as they valued their own salvation, to renounce the principles in which they had been reared. As he probably had both anticipated and desired, his exertions in the discharge of his conscience, led to his appre-

[t] St. Matt. xvi. 21.

hension; and being again convicted of heresy, he was sentenced to the stake. The place of his martyrdom was a low spot of ground without the walls of Norwich, called the Lollards' pit. He met his fate with invincible constancy and cheerfulness, joined with such a bright display of Christian charity, that when some of the friars, apprehensive lest the people, imputing to monkish malice the guilt of his death, should contract their liberality towards them, intreated him to exculpate them from the charge; Bilney promptly complied, and begged of the spectators not to intermit towards these mendicants their accustomed kindness. After light was communicated to the pyre, his sufferings appear to have been of no long duration. The wind, indeed, raged violently, and twice or thrice blew from his scorched and blackened form the blazing mass in which he was at first enveloped. He was then observed to beat his breast; he was heard at intervals to ejaculate, "Jesus," or "I believe;" but he soon drooped his head, and it was evident that he had ceased to breathe[u]. Anxious to relieve the eyes of those around from dwelling on the slow combustion of his withered corse, an officer with his halberd then loosed the staple by which the chain about it had been secured, and the martyr's body

[u] September 6, 1531. A report was industriously circulated that Bilney retracted his opinions before death, and Sir Thomas More was led to give it the sanction of his authority; but Foxe has satisfactorily shewn that it is groundless. Acts and Mon. 919.

fell. Fresh fuel was then expeditiously supplied, and ere long a heap of ashes only marked the spot where lately stood the willing victim, anxious to atone for injuries inflicted by him in an evil hour upon the cause he loved.

Shortly after Bilney's death, Richard Bayfield, formerly a Benedictine monk in the abbey of Bury, was burnt in Smithfield[x]. He had been converted from Popery by the reading of Scripture, and of some controversial tracts, then popular; and after suffering much severity in his convent, he had been sent by his friends to the Reformers abroad. He was subsequently employed in vending and distributing Tyndale's Testament, with various polemical pieces, in England, whither he had secretly returned. He was, however, detected; and having abjured when in trouble for his opinions before, he was now executed as a relapsed heretic. It was probably his activity in the sale and distribution of obnoxious books, which brought him to this end; as he does not appear, in point of doctrine, to have gone beyond an attack upon the invocation of saints, and a general approval of the works which he brought from abroad.

Bayfield's constancy incited a London tradesman, named Tewksbury, who had once abjured Protestant opinions, to assert them with confidence again. He affirmed, that justification can

[x] November 27, 1531. Acts and Mon. 934.

only be obtained through faith, combined with charity; that Christ being the only mediator, all prayers to saints are vain; that purgatory does not exist; that holy orders, unless accompanied by piety and virtue, confer no grace upon the recipient; and that transubstantiation is an error. These tenets being deemed heretical, he was dragged to the stake in Smithfield, and there he sealed his conviction with his blood[y].

Another victim, more considerable as to birth and station, was James Bainham, born of a knightly family in Gloucestershire, and respectably versed in both the languages of classical antiquity. He was a member of the Middle Temple, where he followed the legal profession; but as he was animated by a desire to obtain and disseminate scriptural knowledge, his eminent talents and virtues proved unavailing for his protection. He was apprehended on a charge of heresy; when, after being subjected to much indignity and pain, he consented to abjure the opinions which he had once maintained. This weakness, however, had no sooner procured his release, than the anguish of his mind became intolerable; and in little more than a month after his abjuration, he publicly bewailed that act, exhorting those who heard him, never, as he had done, to renounce doctrines derived from Scripture. His second apprehension soon followed; and being sentenced to die as a relapsed heretic, he was committed to

[y] December 20, 1531. Acts and Mon. 936.

the flames in Smithfield[z]. He appears to have differed from the Romanists as to the manner of Christ's presence in the Eucharist; probably his opinion upon this subject coincided with Luther's. He also disapproved the practice of invoking saints, denied the existence of purgatory, and maintained, that Scripture only being the sacerdotal key, any man who truly illustrated the Gospel by his life and doctrine, possessed as much power to bind and loose as the Pope himself.

On the 15th of January, in the year 1532, the Parliament was assembled after a prorogation; and, in the House of Commons, that system of attacking the clergy, which had begun to act so decidedly during the last session, was perseveringly continued. The representatives of the people laid before his Majesty a long list of grievances, accruing, as it was alleged, from the actual state of the Church, and prayed for redress. It was answered, that, until after farther deliberation, and an enquiry into what might be said on the opposite side of the question, nothing could be done[a]. The result, however, was, that several acts were passed affecting the ecclesiastical establishment. By one of these it was provided, "that no clerk convicted of petty treason, murder, or felony, should be delivered to his ordinary[b], if

[z] On the 30th of April, 1532. Acts and Mon. 939.

[a] Herbert, 155.

[b] Lord Herbert says, that the ordinaries, sometimes "for lucre, or other undue motives, did suffer (these ecclesiastical

such offender had not been admitted a subdeacon: that no convict, being of that or of a higher order, should be allowed to make his purgation without giving sufficient sureties for his good behaviour; and that ordinaries, having such clerical convicts in their custody, might degrade them, and send them for detention to the King's Bench." Another enactment annulled feoffments of land to ecclesiastical uses, as being little else than evasions of the statute of mortmain; and a third made it felony in those who had the privilege of clergy, to break prison after being committed by the ordinary[c].

However, the most important act relating to the Church, passed by the Legislature at this time, was that to restrain the payment of annates[d]. It was set forth in this statute, "that

offenders) to make their purgation by such as knew nothing of their misdeeds, to the great scandal of justice." 155.

[c] Collier, II. 65.

[d] "Annates formed the chief fund for the support of the cardinals in attendance upon the Pontiff." (Lingard.) "Those *hinges* of the Church must be greased with English revenues." (Fuller, 138.) Annates, or first-fruits, are the income of a benefice during the first year after a vacancy, and were originally collected under pretence of raising armies to resist the infidels. Such a payment was made so early as the twelfth century to certain monasteries from preferments in their own patronage; but it does not appear to have been claimed in England by the Popes until about the end of the thirteenth century. In the parliament holden at Carlisle, a short time before the death of Edward I., annates were spoken of as a new claim on the part of the popedom, and the collection of them was forbidden. However, an arrangement was eventually made for the payment of sums

under the title of annates, or first-fruits, great sums of money had been conveyed out of the kingdom, which the court of Rome extorted by withholding bulls and other writs; that these payments were founded on no law, and were only recoverable from the incumbents of sees by threats of withholding the usual bulls; that not less than one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling had been transmitted to the papal exchequer since the second year of King Henry VII. and more might be expected to become demandable shortly on account of the advanced ages to which several of the prelates had attained; therefore it was enacted, that these payments do from henceforth cease, except so far as an allowance of five *per cent.* upon the net annual produce of a bishopric, as a compensation for the preparing and sealing of the usual bulls." If the Legislature had stopped at this point, the Roman court would have

under this name during the term of three years, on condition that the money raised should be remitted to Rome in bills of exchange, and not in specie. "But the court of Rome, which was always gaining upon the liberties of the Church, seldom gave over any project of interest.—The payment of annates has been all along grudged the Pope, and was warmly contested in the council of Constance in 1114. Neither could the court of Rome carry their point there, because the delegates of the French nation stood stiffly against this exaction. The council of Basil likewise, held in 1431, forbad the payment of annates by a decree of the twelfth session; but then, at the same time, they ordered the Pope should have a reasonable aid granted to put him in a condition to manage the affairs of the Church, and to support the cardinals. As to England, the encroachment went on till the reign of Henry VIII." Collier, I. 503.

had sufficient cause for uneasiness; but the act went much farther. It provided, that if bulls should be withholden upon the terms thus fixed*, the divine nominated to a see should be consecrated by a mandate from the King, without the Pope's concurrence; and that, if the papal court should endeavour to continue its present exactions by the employment of excommunications and interdicts, such censures should be utterly disregarded, and the religious worship of the nation proceed just as if his Holiness had not undertaken to suspend it. By this decisive step, the English Legislature ceased to regard the Roman bishop in any other light than merely as the most dignified among European prelates, recognising him as justly entitled to the same rank among those of his order, as had been customarily conceded to the Emperor among princes, but tacitly denying that he possessed any right to interfere without the limits of his own dominions. The dignity of this return to the sound, manly, and patriotic principles, which had prevailed among Christians during the first thousand years of their Church's history, was, however, greatly impaired by a clause in the act, giving to it an air of intimidation. It was enacted, that the King be empowered at any time before Easter, 1533, or before the next session of Parliament, to declare, by letters patent, whether any, or what, of the

* Bulls and palls are termed in the act "*pretended requisites*," in the case of episcopal appointments. Collier, II. 65.

provisions of this act should be carried into effect. None who considered this clause, could doubt that the King's principal object in procuring its insertion, was to overawe the court of Rome by means of the discretionary power left in his hands; but still, the mere discussion of those pretensions, which Popes had successfully advanced during five centuries, was a great advantage to the community, inasmuch as it tended to diffuse light upon questions long misunderstood, from the general ignorance as to their real merits.

It could not indeed escape the Roman politicians, that unless their court should manage its intercourse with England in a manner more than ordinarily judicious, that country must inevitably be lost to the Papacy. Henry was evidently bent upon a rupture with the Pontiff, in case that elevated ecclesiastic should not attend in earnest to his suit; and the English people appeared to regard the probability of such an alteration in the national policy with apathy, if not with satisfaction. A clergyman had shewn his zeal for the Papacy, by publicly maintaining its pretensions: for this offence, rather a new one in England, he was committed to prison. Another ecclesiastic had been placed in custody by the Archbishop of Canterbury, as a favourer of Lutheranism. He appealed to the King, as supreme head of the Church, and was discharged[f].

Henry's disposition to resume the exercise of

[f] Herbert, 159.

those rights which all Christian princes had anciently exercised, was also shewn by his conduct towards the Convocation. That body had found itself called upon to present an address to the throne, in answer to the complaints made by the House of Commons against the clergy. It had been submitted to the King, by the representatives of the people, that the Convocation made inroads upon the constitution, by enacting canons at variance with the laws of the land, and by forcing men to obey these by the terror of excommunications; although such canons were neither sanctioned by the lay branches of the Legislature, nor even drawn up in a language generally understood. To this the clergy replied, that they conceived themselves justified in enacting canons, both by the authority of Scripture, and by the approved usages of the Church; that they hoped an impartial enquirer would find no discrepancy between the ecclesiastical and the national laws; but that if it should appear otherwise, after due examination, they were willing to rectify any such anomaly: and they urged, on the other hand, that any civil constitutions at variance with Scripture, and with the privileges of the Church, ought to be rescinded.

This answer came from the pen of Gardiner, who had been recently preferred to the see of Winchester, and who now gave offence to his royal patron by stepping forward as the assertor of what the Convocation considered as its indefeasible right. When the new bishop was apprised

of the little satisfaction with which his address had been received, he sent to his Majesty an apology, in which he strengthened his positions by new authorities and inferences; and referred, for farther proofs, to the King's own book against Luther.

The King, however, was not to be won over by these compliments and deductions. Accordingly the Convocation was obliged to re-consider the complaints of the Commons, backed, as these were, by the support of the crown; and the representatives of the Church found, from their new position, matter for keen debates during several days. At last another address was agreed upon, and presented to the King, in which was again asserted the right of the clergy to regulate faith and morals independently of any temporal concurrence; a right illustrated excellently, Henry was again reminded, in his own book against Luther. The Convocation then expressed a readiness to abstain from publishing such constitutions as it might make in future, unless these affected the people's faith and morals, until such constitutions should have received the royal approbation: and it expressed a willingness to abrogate all canons, not bearing upon faith and morals, which should be made to appear repugnant to the King's prerogative, and to the law of the land.

These professions being thought undefined and evasive, a royal message was sent to the Convocation by the almoner, requiring that body to abstain in future from enacting, promulging, or

executing any constitution, without the sovereign's assent and concurrence; and to submit the canons then in force to the revision of thirty-two persons, whereof sixteen should be of the spirituality, and sixteen of the temporality, the whole number to be nominated by his Majesty; who undertook to sanction, and render valid, such ecclesiastical constitutions, as the majority of these thirty-two commissioners should think worthy of their approval.

This new instance of the King's pertinacity greatly perplexed the assembled clergy, and they determined to commit themselves no farther until they had taken the advice of Bishop Fisher; upon whom, accordingly, ten members, selected from the two houses, were deputed to attend; and an adjournment of three days was voted, in order that the report of these deputies should be received before any ulterior steps should be taken. From the venerable Bishop of Rochester's counsels, Henry had little reason to anticipate that the Convocation would adopt the course which he desired; and he discovered his dissatisfaction by sending for the Speaker of the House of Commons, complaining to him that the clergy were only half English subjects, and justifying that imputation by the production of the evasive oath which binds the consciences of Popish prelates to the Roman see. The clergy were very little desirous of having their connexion with the Papacy nicely canvassed, and therefore they now professed their readiness to gratify his Majesty, so

far as to promise an abstinence in future from the enacting of any canon without the royal assent, during the King's life; and to propose, that the existing canons should be submitted to the royal approbation, in order that such of them as might appear unfit to be retained, should be abrogated by the ecclesiastical body. This promise and proposal were not, however, deemed satisfactory at court; and, accordingly, another message was sent to the Convocation, requiring it neither to act upon the old canons, nor frame new ones without the royal assent, and to make these stipulations absolutely, without any reference to a demise of the crown. With these demands the upper house of Convocation refused compliance; and though the King sent six lay peers to argue with them, they still would not give way. The lower house, however, consented to the terms proposed by the court. At last it was agreed, that no new canons should be enacted without the royal assent, and there the matter rested for the present[s].

Henry was goaded into these reiterated attacks upon the Papal Church by the incessant domestic uneasiness, which preyed upon him in spite of his various efforts to obtain relief. On the 31st of March, 1531, the Lord Chancellor More, and Bishop Stokesley, of London, came down to the House of Commons; and after representing the

[s] This accommodation was effected on the 19th of May, 1532. Collier, II. 70.

troubled conscience by which his Majesty was haunted, from the marriage that he had contracted, laid before that assembly the sentiments expressed by universities both at home and abroad; above one hundred written opinions, or disquisitions [h], penned by scholars of eminence; the Mosaic prohibition against the marrying of a brother's widow; a passage in the works of St. Basil, adjudging the penalty of excommunication to him who should contract such a marriage; two epistles of pontiffs [i], extracted by Bishop Stokesley from the papal registers, which denied to the Roman bishop any power to dispense with the laws of God; and the opinions of some Jewish rabbies, from which it was to be inferred, that the command enjoining one brother among the Israelites to marry another's widow, no longer required observance. This mass of documents being submitted to the House of Commons, gave rise to a great deal of discussion among the members; but the project of a divorce for the King was highly unpopular, and the debates upon it led to no decision. Henry, disgusted at this, caused the Parliament to be prorogued; and, in the hope that his subjects would be more disposed towards his gratification if they were fully aware of what competent judges had said upon his case, he ordered the determinations of the foreign universi-

[h] "Whereof Dr. Cranmer's was one." Herbert, 153.

[i] "Whereof one was of Gregory, the other of Innocent III." Ibid.

ties to be printed, and the book to be circulated as extensively as possible [k].

He also made another attempt to obtain the Queen's acquiescence in his views. On the 31st of May he sent some members of the privy council to propose to her, that her case should be referred to four spiritual and four temporal lords. But Catharine received this proposal with her usual inflexibility; alleging, that her father had taken good advice before he consented to her second marriage; and that so long as the court of Rome should not have determined to the contrary, nothing could place her in any other situation than that of the King's lawful wife. Under these repeated disappointments, Henry's spirits gave way, and he no longer felt an inclination for the sports and amusements, which had been used to enliven his leisure hours. At length he determined upon a separation from his amiable and unfortunate Queen. He had hitherto lived with her upon terms of civility, if not of affection; and she was with him at Windsor at the beginning of the summer. There, however, ended the personal intercourse which had so long, and once so happily, subsisted between these distinguished personages. On the 14th of July [l], Catharine received another message, communicating to her the unwelcome intelligence, that if she persisted in standing upon her appeal to Rome, she must remove from Windsor without delay; and that

[k] Herbert, 153.

[l] 1531. Ibid.

she might select, as the place of her retreat, either Oking or Easthamstead, royal seats, or the abbey of Bisham. The afflicted princess sorrowfully replied, "that to whatsoever place she might remove, nothing could remove her from being the King's lawful wife." Then meekly yielding to her unmerited fate, she left the castle for Moor[m]. Nor did she afterwards enjoy the satisfaction of seeing the King; for whom, however, it appears, she retained to the last a degree of affection, which must have added poignancy to her sufferings.

When the news of Catharine's dismissal reached Rome, Clement was probably really offended, that a step so decisive had been taken, in defiance of his authority; at all events he was compelled to assume an appearance of anger, in order to satisfy the Emperor. He was indeed beginning to alienate himself from Charles, and to form a close connexion with the King of France; but the former prince was powerful in Italy; whereas Francis hitherto had been able to supply no ground of confidence to the Pontiff, except promises and stipulations. Clement, therefore, thought it advisable to continue his temporising system of policy, at least so long as the French should be unable to afford him any efficient protection. Accordingly he wrote a letter to Henry, expostulating with him upon the dismissal of Catharine, and men-

[m] Whence she removed to Easthamstead, and thence to Amptill, "where she stayed longer." Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 180.

tioning that he had heard a rumour from many quarters of his cohabitation with Anne Boleyn, an irregularity which, if it were the fact, he hoped, would be immediately corrected [n].

The answer to this objugatory epistle appears to be lost, but it is evident that his Holiness failed either to persuade or to intimidate the King; since, some time after, he sent a letter to Rome, containing personal reflections, which Clement must have found not a little grating to his feelings. Henry wrote, that both the Pope and himself had been deceived; the former by relying upon the judgments of others, the latter by waiting so long in expectation of justice from the Roman court; that the letters of his Holiness contained matter contrary to all law, both human and divine; that his conduct had been interested and deceitful, such as very ill became the vicar of Christ; that the apostolic see had shewn itself unprovided with learned advisers, since a difficulty was made at Rome about the decision of a question, upon which the generality of scholars elsewhere had readily made up their minds; that it was not intended farther to curtail the papal influence in England, unless such a measure should be rendered absolutely necessary; and that it was hoped Clement would at last act conformably to the opinions of the learned, and do his duty as the common father of Christendom [o].

[n] Herbert, 156. The letter of Clement is dated January 25, 1532.

[o] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. Records, 156.

The King's general tone of defiance, added to the recent attacks upon the privileges and revenues, which the Roman see had been used to enjoy, so rapidly succeeding each other in England, caused great uneasiness at the papal court. In the hope, therefore, that some device might be found for amusing the angry monarch, until Clement might act without injury to his private ends, it was proposed to cite Henry once more to Rome. When this intention was known in England, Sir Edward Karne was despatched to the papal metropolis[p], with instructions to remonstrate against any such citation, both as unauthorised by the canon law, and prejudicial to the rights of an independent sovereign. Karne was denominated an *Excusator*, an unheard of title, which afforded to the subtle Italians new pretences for delay. They alleged that there was no precedent for the reception at the Roman court of an agent bearing such a character; and it hence formed an admirable subject for debate, as to whether the English knight could be permitted to deliver his credentials. Karne was accompanied by Edmund Boner, afterwards well, but far from honourably, known as Bishop of London; and the two agents, in spite of the difficulties which they had occasioned upon the score of *etiquette*, proceeded in the execution of the business entrusted to their management. When the disagreeable prospect opened to the cardinals by the abolition of annates, was made

[p] About February, 1532. Herbert, 158.

the theme of reproach to the King, it was replied, that the operation of this act was wholly dependent upon his Majesty's will, and would most probably be suspended if he could obtain his object from the Pontiff. Nor in the conducting of the English negociation, were the arts of corruption forgotten. The Cardinal of Ravenna being possessed of great importance in the consistory, and having hitherto opposed the King's suit, was induced to change his mind by the promise of a pension, payable from monastic property in France, and of a valuable English bishopric [q]. New light seems also to have broken in upon others of their Eminences, from similar causes [r]. As, however, the English agents did not possess the means of driving the imperial troops beyond the Alps, all their endeavours only served to exercise the ingenuity of Clement and his creatures in finding pretences for procrastination. These tedious artifices consumed the time until the summer vacation commenced, when, to the relief of both parties thus engaged in parrying the attacks of each other, a respite of three months was, as usual, granted. Afterwards, the only concession which Henry could gain from the Pope was a

[q] Letter from Benet, dated Rome, February 7, 1532. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, I. 161.

[r] "I find also by other letters, that the Cardinals of Ancona and Monte (afterwards Pope Julius III.) were prevailed with by arguments of the same nature, though I cannot find out what the bargains were." Ibid. I. 189.

promise to issue a commission for the hearing of the cause in some unexceptionable place out of England. But as Clement would not consent to devolve upon any other than himself the privilege of giving sentence, it was evident that this new overture, like all former ones, was hollow and insidious. It was therefore rejected, and an application was made for a commission empowering the Archbishop of Canterbury to decide the cause. To this, however, Clement would not agree: his refusal indeed was to be anticipated, because the see of Canterbury was then vacant, and might be filled by some individual feeling himself bound to decide according to the honest conviction of his own mind, or to the wishes of his prince; and not according to the maxims of papal jurisprudence, or to the views of an interested Italian. At length Karne declared, that all proceedings at Rome were unnecessary; since his master being a sovereign prince, and the Church of England independent of any foreign jurisdiction, the decision of matrimonial causes, arising within the English dominions, of right belonged to the national authorities, who were competent to give sentence without any reference to the Pontiff'. This sensible declaration was soon after followed by acts in unison with it; and thus the court of Rome, so far as England was concerned, at last over-reached itself, by an unfortunate case of perseverance in that crooked, interested policy,

' Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 199.

which had raised the Papacy to such a height of power and opulence.

The opposition experienced from the Pope and the Emperor conquered the repugnance with which Henry had originally regarded the German Reformers, and he became sensible of the policy of forming a connexion with a society so capable of annoying both Clement and Charles. Cranmer had remained during a considerable time at Rome, in the vain hope of advancing his master's objects, either by means of a public disputation or by the obtainment from Roman canonists of written opinions in concurrence with his own[t]. He found himself, however, neither able to make any appointment for a solemn argument upon the King's case, nor to surmount that influence over the canonists, which the Pope might be reasonably expected to possess in his own capital. Thus the English doctor was left in the pontifical city, very much at leisure to contemplate the habits and pursuits of those who filled the principal stations in that celebrated place. Luther, while yet an obscure individual, had enjoyed a similar opportunity[u]: nor can it be doubted that both he

[t] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 14.

[u] He was sent to Rome in 1510, as the agent of his order, which was involved in some contention, that it was desired to terminate by a reference to the highest authority. (Sleidan, 263.) Luther, while at Rome, was shocked with the levity and profaneness which he saw around him; especially with what he once overheard at mass, where one of the officiating ministers, apostrophising the consecrated wafer, said, "*Bread thou art, and bread thou shalt remain.*" Gerdes, I. 89.

and Cranmer were supplied, by what they had seen at Rome, with many an argument to persevere in the arduous struggle, which has conferred immortality upon their names. To the Pope and cardinals a character of sanctity was attributed by the generality of those who passed their lives at a distance from those elevated personages; and to the city in which St. Peter was believed to have fixed his apostolic chair, pilgrimages from all the regions of the West had been made by devotees during a long succession of ages. When, therefore, the force of inveterate prejudice is considered, it is evident that an opportunity of judging for themselves as to the character of the Papacy, at its fountain-head, was no light advantage to the two great Reformers. Both arrived in Rome endued with a knowledge of the Scriptures; Cranmer deeply so: and both were struck with the discrepancy that existed between what they had read in God's Word, and what they saw in the habits of those who claimed the exclusive right of deciding authoritatively upon the import of what that Word enjoined. When Luther was in Rome, his reverence for the popedom was unshaken; but he could not fail to summon, in the more important stages of his life, a recollection of what he had witnessed in the city, vainly called *Eternal,* to strengthen his convictions as they gradually flashed upon his mind. When, however, Cranmer trode the seven celebrated hills, he had begun to suspect that he saw the seat of a power of which, to say the least, the pretensions and spi-

ritual character had been considerably exaggerated. Nor could he avoid remarking, as a confirmation of his suspicion, that the vain and voluptuous, the selfish and intriguing churchmen, who passed under his review, were utterly destitute of that sanctity, which most of those who knew them not, associated with their names.

At length it became evident to the English court, that Clement's disposition to grant the desired divorce, was wholly dependent upon the Emperor, and that consequently the continuance of Cranmer at Rome was not likely to forward Henry's views. If he could be useful any where, it must be in Germany; and accordingly the Earl of Wiltshire having spoken of him in very favourable terms, he received instructions to transfer his residence to the court of Charles. In obedience to these orders he crossed the Alps, and endeavoured, by his solicitations and offers, to argue the King's case, to convince those about the Emperor of the justice of Henry's expectations. The counsels of princes, however, are not usually swayed by the reasonings of theologians; and Cranmer soon discovered that his arguments might be expected to produce very little effect upon the imperial courtiers. There were indeed a few individuals of note among the dependants of Charles, whose views of the question at issue were found to coincide with those of the English agent. Cornelius Agrippa, judge of the prerogative court, and one of the imperial counsellors, even ventured to declare, with some degree of publicity, his con-

viction that Henry's marriage was invalid. Soon afterwards, however, the learned civilian was cast into prison, where he died; and his friends imputed the severity with which he was treated, to his support of a position, which his master would not consent to admit[x]. But although Cranmer received very little encouragement at the imperial court, he was not hastily recalled, as it was determined at home to embrace the opportunity afforded by his residence in Germany, in order to come to an understanding with that large and powerful party there, which was opposed to the Church of Rome.

Ever since the attack made by Luther upon indulgences, the principles of that great Reformer had been constantly gaining ground among his countrymen. Indeed no effectual means to stop their progress had been adopted by the German powers. It is true, that one of the first acts of sovereignty exercised by Charles after his accession to the imperial throne, was the holding of a diet at Worms, which proscribed Luther in the most severe and arbitrary terms; but many circumstances concurred to render that intolerant edict a mere dead letter. This diet the courageous Saxon attended, at the bidding of Charles, who sent to him a safe conduct. Some of his friends advised him to decline this compliance with the imperial mandate; and argued, from the flagitious cases of Huss and Jerome, that the

[x] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 14.

word of a Popish emperor, when pledged to one who had been denounced at Rome as a heretic, was of no value whatever. The conduct of the more violent Papists unquestionably gave encouragement to such unworthy suspicions. Among the ceremonies by which Passion week[y] is solemnized at the papal court, is the reading of an anathema denounced against heretics, pirates, and in short against all whose enmity or opposition is dreaded at Rome. In this catalogue of objects abandoned to the Pontiff's wrath, were now included by name, for the first time, Luther and his adherents. Such indications, however, of rancorous and indecent hostility on the part of his adversaries, wholly failed of intimidating the Reformer. He met the persuasions of his friends by referring their fears to the artifices of Satan, who felt apprehensive, he said, lest that confession of the truth, likely to be made before the diet, should inflict a serious injury upon his usurped dominion[z]. At another time he expressed his immoveable resolution, by declaring with characteristic vehemence, "I should certainly go to Worms, did I even know that I must encounter as many devils in the place as there are tiles upon the houses[a]." When arrived at the end of his journey, he found himself an object of general curiosity. The crowds that pressed for-

[y] In the year 1521, Easter day fell on the 31st of March. Nicolas's Notitia Historica. Lond. 1824. 90.

[z] Sleidan, 39.

[a] Gerdes, II. 27.

ward to obtain a sight of him, were greater than even those which had been attracted by the pageantry of Charles's public entry into Worms; and he received daily visits from individuals of the highest distinction[b]. Nor was his behaviour unworthy of the estimation to which he had attained; it was respectful, firm, and dignified. When he appeared before the diet[c], accompanied by his legal adviser, certain books were mentioned to him, and he was required to answer both whether he acknowledged himself as the author of these works, and whether he was prepared to retract any of the opinions contained in them. He replied, that he felt no hesitation in avowing himself the author of the books which had been named; but that as for maintaining the doctrines contained in them, it was a question requiring deliberation, in order to be suitably answered. The delay of a day was in consequence granted to him. When again introduced before the diet at the expiration of that time, he said, "That some of his books inculcated principles upon which all Christians were agreed; of course it was not desired of him to retract any thing in them: that others related to the Papacy and to Popery, subjects upon which he had written nothing that he could retract without giving encouragement to tyranny over men's consciences, and to a system of pillage universally reprobated: that a third

[b] Robertson, Charles V. II. 123.

[c] On the 17th of April, 1521. Geides, II. 27.

class of his writings was of a controversial nature, and contained such personalities as he freely admitted were reprehensible, although he did not think it prudent to retract any part of them, for fear of inspiriting afresh his malicious detractors: and that, in fine, unless he should be convinced of error by Scripture and sound reasoning, he could not with a safe conscience retract any thing that he had written or taught[d]." Several attempts were made to shake his determination before Luther left Worms[e]; but these proving ineffectual, he was allowed to depart; and soon afterwards[f] an edict appeared, sanctioned by the Emperor and the diet, which, treating him as an excommunicated criminal, forbade any individual to harbour him beyond the time when his safe conduct would expire[g].

On his journey homewards, Luther addressed letters to the Emperor, and to the princes, in which he briefly recapitulated the leading particulars of his case, again offered to refer the questions at issue to the decision of fair and competent judges, who should be guided wholly by Scripture; and declared, that the principles for which he was contending concerned not alone him individually, but also the whole world, and Germany especially[h]. As, however, these appeals were not

[d] Sleidan, 40.
[e] On the 26th of April. Ibid. 42.
[f] On the 8th of May. Ibid. 44.
[g] Twenty-one days. Ibid. 44.
[h] Ibid. 42.

likely to disarm the malice of his enemies, his magnanimous sovereign adopted secret but effectual precautions to ensure his safety. When he had reached a spot within a short distance of Eisenach, a troop of horsemen in masks rushed out of a wood, seized the Reformer, and hurried him away to Wartburg, an ancient castle, which crowned the lofty summit of a neighbouring hill. In this secure retreat, which he subsequently termed his Patmos, Luther spent from nine to ten months; during which time he was known to the people about the castle by the familiar name of *Younker George*, and was supplied abundantly with every thing that he required for his personal comfort, as well as for the prosecution of his studies [i]. The fruits of these were seen even whilst he remained in concealment, in some controversial pieces [k], by which he supported his opinions, and confirmed the spirits of his disciples, who were at first disheartened by the mysterious disappearance of their master [l]. His most important labour, however, in his seclusion, was the assiduous prosecution of a translation of the Bible; a work which eventually placed Protestant principles upon an immovable basis in Germany. But in spite of these interesting and important occupations, while Luther was shut up at Wartburg, his mind did not escape that unhealthiness, which

[i] Gerdes, II. 38.

[k] Upon the Abrogation of Private Masses, upon Monastic Vows, and other subjects. Sleidan, 45.

[l] Robertson, Charles V. 124.

ordinarily flows from solitude. He found himself haunted by impulses of carnality, which he viewed as temptations of Satan, and from which accordingly he derived serious uneasiness. A knowledge of these morbid reveries he afterwards, with more candour than discretion, communicated to the world: an imprudence highly grateful to the Romish party, who exulted in the picture of his mind, which Luther presented to their view [m]. At length the great Reformer, no longer able to endure the evils which Carlostadt's ill-governed zeal was inflicting upon the cause of Scriptural Christianity, privately withdrew from his retreat, and appeared again at Wittemberg, where his commanding genius soon checked the precipitancy of his disciples [n].

At this place, which his name has rendered so celebrated, Luther then was allowed to pursue his designs without interruption. The Emperor was absent from Germany, he was harassed by popular commotions in Spain, and by a war with France; so that he possessed neither the leisure to devise plans for carrying the edict of Worms into effect, nor the means requisite for such a purpose [o]. Nevertheless, the Austrian family was not inattentive to the progress of opinions, which threatened ruin to the Roman Church; and the Archduke Ferdinand summoned a diet to meet at

[m] Osbern relates, that such a diabolical temptation happened to Archbishop Dunstan. Angl. Sacr. II. 96.

[n] Sleidan, 47.

[o] Coxe, House of Austria, II. 116.

Nuremberg, in the autumn of the year 1522, principally with a view to enforce the proscription of Luther and his adherents. To this diet Adrian of Utrecht, who had succeeded Leo in the popedom, addressed a letter, exhorting the Germanic body to extirpate, should mild expedients fail, the author of that schism which distracted the Church. At the same time the candid and well-intentioned Pontiff honestly confessed, that in the ecclesiastical system as then established, there were many particulars requiring amendment. This impolitic avowal gave satisfaction to nearly all parties in Germany, and was followed by a list of a hundred grievances, which the diet presented to Cheregato, the papal legate, as a statement of the wrongs inflicted upon the nation by the Roman see. Thus the first diet of Nuremberg, instead of being the means of crushing the Reformation, was a decided advantage to its cause; since it furnished to the adversaries of Popery an opportunity of placing its practices in a hateful light, by appealing both to the admissions of a Pope, and to the hundred grievances, which all the principal German authorities, however they might stand affected as to religion, alleged themselves to have suffered from the court of Rome. Nor was it found possible to obtain of the diet any thing beyond a general exhortation[p] to the subjects of the empire to wait with patience until a general coun-

[p] By a *recess* or edict of the diet, dated March 6, 1523. Robertson, Charles V. II. 210.

cil should have determined the several points in dispute; and in the mean time to abstain from ecclesiastical innovations of every kind. This tolerant conduct was imitated by a second diet[q], which met at Nuremberg in the following year; and the Reformers considered, that by these acts, their national legislature at least intended to connive at the dissemination of their opinions, perhaps even to encourage it.

Religious renovation, accordingly, proceeded through Germany with a steady pace. The rigorous edict of Worms, though supported by an association formed between the Archduke Ferdinand, the Duke of Bavaria, and most of the German bishops, continued ineffective. Indeed, on the death of Frederic the Wise, Elector of Saxony, in 1525, his brother and successor, John the Constant, openly professed Lutheranism; an example which was followed by other princes, and by several imperial cities[r]. In the midst of events so grateful to the friends of Scriptural Christianity, the empire became convulsed by commotions, which unjustly brought obloquy upon the Reformation. The real evils of poverty, and the discontent natural to restless human nature under the pressure of inferiority, were aggravated by the galling servitude inflicted upon the peasantry by the feudal system; and these sources of uneasiness led to a formidable insurrection of the

[q] In February, 1524. Robertson, Charles V. II. 212.

[r] Coxe, House of Austria, II. 123.

lower orders, through a great extent of Germany, against their lordly oppressors. At first the insurgents were wholly unconnected with any religious party; but, as they gathered strength, they were joined by fanatics, holding those anabaptist opinions, which had been obscurely creeping through Europe during the whole course of the middle ages. Enthusiasm never gains a firm hold upon a mob without engendering a desire of plunder, sensuality, and political ascendancy. Such, accordingly, was the feeling gradually developed by the anabaptist insurgents who disquieted Germany; greatly to the satisfaction of such Romanists as were distant from the spots where the storm burst, by whom these disgraceful excesses were represented as the natural consequence of deserting the dominant Church. Luther behaved in this emergency so as justly to claim universal respect. He both expostulated with the nobles upon the rigorous vassalage in which they held their unhappy dependents, and exhorted the princes of his party to crush a rebellion so little creditable to those engaged in it. This last object was happily effected after no long struggle[5]; and it was found, when the diet assembled at Spire in 1526, that the Reformers had lost none of their strength. Indeed Charles at that time was so highly disgusted with the Pope, that even had his power to serve the Romish cause been greater

[5] In a pitched battle fought at Mulhausen in 1525. Mosheim, IV. 67.

than it was, he scarcely felt the inclination to adopt measures agreeable to the papal court. Clement had formed against the Emperor, with the French and Venetians, a league denominated *Holy*, as being subservient to the political views of the tri-crowned personage, who is supposed to represent St. Peter. Charles, exasperated by this confederacy, published a manifesto, detailing in no measured terms the Pope's moral obliquities, and appealing from him to a general council. This document being industriously circulated through Germany, gave new spirits to the Reformers, who cited it as a proof, wrung from their most powerful adversary, that their judgment of the Papacy was undeniably correct. With this imperial encouragement before their eyes, the friends of Scriptural Christianity taught their doctrines with less reserve than ever. The clergymen who attended the reformed princes to the diet of Spire, publicly preached in that place the principles which they had adopted[t]; and the assembled representatives of Germany merely agreed, by an unanimous vote upon the subject of religion, that the several potentates and cities should administer ecclesiastical affairs until the meeting of a general or a national council, in such a manner as to be able to answer for their conduct before God and the Emperor[u].

This decree, being tantamount to a formal toleration of Lutheranism, tended to increase the faci-

[t] Robertson, Charles IV. II. 290. [u] Sleidan, 88.

lities hitherto enjoyed by the Reformers for the propagation of their opinions, and their party became almost daily more formidable for numbers and activity. At length the Emperor thought that the time was come when he might safely venture upon an attempt to crush the spirit of reform, which had alienated the half of Germany from the Roman Church. His contests with the Pope had ended in his favour, and he seemed to have established a degree of power, which petty states could not easily resist. To take advantage of a conjuncture apparently so favourable to his views, Charles issued at Valladolid, on the first of August, 1528, orders for the assembling of a new diet at Spire, at which, on account of his own unavoidable absence, his brother Ferdinand was to preside, and which should devise measures both for the termination of religious differences within the empire, and for the organising of an effectual opposition to the formidable hostility of Turkey[x]. The proposed diet did not meet until the middle of March, in the year 1529, and then it discussed with great ardour the religious state of Germany. After much debate a majority of the assembly decreed, "That such states as had observed the edict of Worms, should continue in that observance; that all others should admit no innovations beyond those already made; should not abolish the mass; should place no impediments in the way of any who might choose to attend that ser-

[x] Sleidan, 96.

vice; and should suffer nothing to be taught respecting the Lord's Supper at variance with what the Church has decreed upon that subject; in fine, that every ecclesiastical arrangement throughout Germany should remain as nearly as possible upon its ancient footing, until the meeting of a council; and that, until that time, all the clergy should frame their doctrine according to the approved interpretation of the Church[y]."

Since the contrivers of this decree, ambiguous as it was in some respects, evidently intended by its means to stifle the discussion of religious questions, to stay the progress of Scriptural Christianity, and to force upon the consciences of men that Popish service which the generality of those acquainted with its meaning and with their Bibles consider as a daring impiety; some individuals among the members of the diet at once *protested*[z] against the intolerance of the majority. From their spirited conduct on this occasion, these assertors of man's right to believe the Divine record, rather than popes and councils, obtained the name of PROTESTANTS since the date of their memorable opposition, the honourable designation of all Western Christians, who derive their religion exclusively from the unquestionable Word of God. The protest of this virtuous minority declared, "That the former tolerant edict of Spire having passed unanimously, ought not

[y] Sleidan, 98.

[z] On the 19th of April, 1529. Ibid. 99.

now to be rescinded by a majority of the diet only; that the mass having been proved by competent judges to be contrary to Christ's institution, could no longer be permitted within the limits of their respective jurisdictions[a]; that the

[a] The mass among Romanists is a celebration of the Lord's Supper, at which the priest alone ordinarily receives, while the people look on in silent adoration; but although the congregation shares not in the Eucharistic feast, this solemnity is believed to be beneficial not only to individuals present, but also to the absent, to be in fact a sacrifice of Christ's body offered for the quick and the dead. An attendance upon the mass as a worshipper, therefore, involves a belief in transubstantiation, in the lawfulness of adoring a visible object, in the wonderful powers claimed by the Romish priesthood, and in the repetition of a sacrifice analogous to that of the cross. The word mass is of high antiquity, and of uncertain derivation; but it was not used in the first ages of the Church in the restricted sense given to it by the Papists of later times: on the contrary, it was used to designate, besides the administration of the Eucharist, "the lessons, collects, and prayers, and the dismission of the people." (Bingham, I. 556.) This dismission was commonly announced by the following words, addressed by the minister to the congregation: "*Ite, missa est;*" from the middle one of which, the term *mass* is generally considered to be derived. Archbishop Usher (De Success. 28.) furnishes from Smaragdus, an interpreter of the Benedictine rule, the following etymology of mass: "Orationes, i. e. Collectæ quæ in fine cursus a sacerdote dicuntur, *missæ*, i. e. Deo transmissæ, vocantur." According to this etymology, the term *mass* must be derived from a word signifying certain religious services *sent* up to heaven. As for the restricted use of the term among the Romanists, Dr. Cave says, "It would puzzle them to produce but one place where the word is used in the same sense as they use it now, out of any genuine and approved writer of the Church for at least the first four hundred years." Primitive Christianity, 284.

decree confining clergymen to interpretations sanctioned by the Church was illusory, because the term "Church" was notoriously a matter of controversy; and that the only unexceptionable mode of teaching religion, was by a careful comparison of Scripture with Scripture, not by a deference to traditions, which in fact rest upon no firm foundation whatever [b]." This Protest was signed by John, Elector of Saxony; George, Margrave of Brandenburg Anspach; Ernest and Francis, Dukes of Brunswick Luneburg; Philip, Landgrave of Hesse Cassel; Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, and fourteen imperial cities [c]. Among these celebrated names, a British Protestant recognises with honest pride that of a prince whose descendants occupy the throne of his native land, so long the home of sound religion, manly intelligence, and rational freedom. Ernest the Confessor [d], Duke of Brunswick Luneburg, was educated in the University of Wittemberg, where he attended the lectures of Luther, and where his generous spirit readily imbibed the enlightened views of that great Reformer [e]. Through life, accordingly, this able and religious prince was ever on the watch to establish and extend those principles, truly infallible, because written by the finger of inspiration, which formed the glory of

[b] Sleidan, 99.

[c] Coxe, House of Austria, II. 132.

[d] Gerdes calls him Ernest the *Pious*. He was born in 1497, and died in 1546. Halliday, House of Guelph, 119.

[e] Ibid. 111.

his administration, the rock of his immortal hopes. William, his youngest son, was grandfather to Ernest Augustus, who, marrying the daughter of Frederick, King of Bohemia, and Elector Palatine, became the father of King George the First[f], the progenitor of a race of sovereigns, under whose mild and judicious rule Britain has not only stood nobly conspicuous as the great bulwark of Scriptural Christianity, but also as the seat of a nation, which for virtue, wealth, and intellectual eminence, has hitherto found no equal.

The Protest being signed, delegates were appointed to present it to the Emperor, who still remained in Spain. He, however, left the Peninsula very shortly afterwards; and at Placentia, where he was resting on his way to meet the Pope, then awaiting his arrival at Bologna, he received the deputation, which had been despatched from Germany on the part of the Protestants. It was then found that Charles's successes had engendered insolence. He petulantly departed from the cautious policy habitual with him, and placed the Protestant delegates under an arrest during several days. This measure convinced the German Reformers, that if they would retain their religious liberties, such precautions must be taken as were likely to baffle the designs of their enemies; and, accordingly, the principal individuals belonging to their party held several meetings for the purpose of arranging a confederacy.

[f] Halliday, House of Guelph, 173.

among themselves. Unhappily, the spirit of discord, which poisons all human things, pervaded these assemblages of Protestants, and prevented them from forming at that time such a league as was urgently required by the threatening aspect of their affairs[g].

Of this disunion, however, the Emperor found himself unable to take advantage. The ambitious plans of the Austrian family were yet very far from their consummation; indeed those for the augmentation of their ancient inheritance appeared likely to fail altogether, unless the Protestant princes should further them with effectual aid. The Emperor's brother, Ferdinand, had obtained, by marriage and election, the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia[h]; but the former, which was the more considerable of the two, was placed in an alarming state of jeopardy. Solyman the Magnificent, Sultan of the Turks, who ably filled a throne long occupied by princes of uncommon talents and enterprise, resisted Ferdinand's assumption of the Hungarian diadem. The Moslem despot's opposition, in itself a formidable obstacle, derived additional force from domestic causes. On the disastrous plain of Mohatz[i] had

[g] Mosheim, IV. 74.

[h] He married, in December, 1522, Anne, Princess of Hungary and Bohemia. Coxe, House of Austria, II. 213.

[i] The battle of Mohatz was fought on the 29th of August, 1526. The Turkish Sultan entered Hungary with an army 200,000 strong: Lewis took the field with no more than 30,000 men, and of these 22,000 perished at Mohatz. Ibid. 216.

flowed a deluge of Hungarian blood; and Lewis, the defeated king, in attempting to escape from the victorious Ottomans, was killed in crossing a morass. Ferdinand of Austria, who had married a sister of the deceased monarch, then took possession of his throne. But a powerful competitor arose in the person of John of Zapoli, Count of Zips, and Waivode of Transylvania. This opponent had been elected king by one of the factions which distracted Hungary, and his pretensions were rendered highly embarrassing to the Austrian family, because supported by Solyman, under whose vassalage John disgracefully stipulated that he would hold the crown. Thus the Emperor was labouring under continual apprehensions respecting the permanence of that important acquisition, which his family had made on their eastern frontier. Nor was he entirely at his ease even as to Ferdinand's peaceable possession of his hereditary states [k]. Solyman had again broken into Hungary with an overwhelming host [l]; and after halting on the field of Mohatz, so fatally distinguished as the scene of his former sanguinary triumph, he had ravaged the confines of Austria, and laid siege to the capital [m]. Great exertions

[k] The Austrian territories had been ceded by the Emperor to his brother Ferdinand, who thus became the head of the German branch of the Hapsburg family. Coxe, House of Austria, II. 212.

[l] 300,000 strong. Ibid. 220.

[m] During thirty days. Solyman at last raised the siege of Vienna, which was undertaken in the autumn of 1529, in conse-

on the part of Ferdinand had indeed obliged the haughty invader to retire without having opened a way for his barbarous legions through the walls of Vienna. But the means and the disposition to organize such another expedition as that which had recently affrighted the Austrian capital, yet remained to the Turkish Sultan: John still claimed the Hungarian crown; and without the union of prudence with good fortune, it was evident that the importance of the Hapsburg race on the eastern side of Europe, was likely to be wholly overthrown. Hence, when Charles arrived in Germany in the spring of 1530, after his coronation at Bologna, he found himself under the necessity of restraining his intolerance, and of courting the friendship of the Protestant princes, in order to form such arrangements as might place an effectual barrier in the way of Ottoman aggression.

In the hope, therefore, of conciliating the reforming party, Charles spoke[n] of the religious differences which harassed Germany with exemplary moderation, and promised that they should be fairly considered in the diet summoned to meet at Augsburg. To this city he repaired in all the pomp of imperial state; and he so managed his journey thither, as to arrive on the eve of what Romanists consider a very important festival[o].

quence of the approach of winter, and from apprehensions of reinforcements expected by the Christians. Coxe, House of Austria, II. 221.

[n] In a circular letter, dated January 31, 1530. Ibid. 135.

[o] Charles arrived at Augsburg on the 13th of June, in the evening. Sleidan, 104.

In the thirteenth century a woman resident at Liege either pretended or conceited that she had received a Divine revelation, enjoining the institution of an annual service, in honour of the change wrought, according to Popish authorities, of the sacramental elements into the corporeal substance of Christ. This fraud or folly, being well adapted to keep alive a superstitious reverence for the mass, did not long wait for ecclesiastical patronage; and upon the strength of it, in the year 1264, Urban IV. instituted the festival, known as that of Corpus Christi[p]; upon which the members of his Church exhibit one of their most elaborate displays of ritual pageantry. Amidst these ceremonies, usually deemed so imposing, Charles determined to make his appearance in Augsburg. But in forming this resolution, he grievously miscalculated. The Protestants utterly refused the sanction of their presence to the splendid procession[q]. "I will instantly offer my head to the executioner," said the Margrave of Brandenburg, "rather than renounce the Gospel, and approve idolatry." When attempts were made to shake this embarrassing determination, the conscientious prince told Charles publicly, "Christ did not institute the Holy Supper

[p] Mosheim, III. 262.

[q] The Archbishop Elector of Mentz said mass before a very full attendance of princes; but the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, the two Dukes of Luneburg, the Margrave of Brandenburg, and the Prince of Anhalt, were absent. Sleidan, 104.

with any view to furnish materials for a holiday shew, and for popular adoration. When he delivered the bread to his disciples, he said, 'Take, eat;' but he did not add, Put these sacramental elements into a magnificent vase, which bear aloft in triumph through the streets, and let every man fall prostrate on its approach[r]." Soon after this rebuff, Charles had to encounter another mortification. The opening of the diet[s] was customarily preceded by a mass of the Holy Ghost[t]: to which ceremony, when the Emperor was about to repair, the Elector of Saxony refused to bear the sword of state before him, as it was his office to do in quality of grand marshal of the empire. Charles then threatened to bestow the Elector's office upon another; but the prince remained inflexible, until the Lutheran divines, adducing the example of the Syrian Naaman[u], expressed their opinion, that a Christian attending mass officially, might stand excused if he only took care to withhold all appearance of worship at the elevation of the wafer. Under an intention of acting in this manner, both the Elector and the Margrave of Brandenburg were present at the mass[x]; and, accordingly, when, obedient to the tinkling bell, the Romanists fell upon their knees, these enlightened princes continued standing; and thus rebuked,

[r] Coxe, House of Austria, II. 137.
[s] Sleidan, 104.
[t] Coxe, II. 138.
[u] 2 Kings v. 18, 19.
[x] All the other Protestant princes staid away. Sleidan, 105.

in a manner not to be forgotten, the delusion of those who paid to the creature that homage which, according to the record of God's Word, is due only to the Creator.

From this unpromising commencement, Charles must have been sufficiently convinced, that to overcome the effects of that scriptural knowledge which was making its gladdening way through Germany, would prove no easy task. He felt himself, therefore, the more obliged to keep up an appearance of candour, in order to unite all parties in the empire in support of his family against the Turks. Luther had some time before digested the leading particulars of his creed under seventeen heads, in a document which he delivered to the Elector of Saxony at Torgaw[y]. These principles of belief had been recently arranged in an extended form by Melancthon[z]; from whose classical pen they had received that elegance and perspicuity, which distinguish every thing that he took in hand. The labours of Luther and Melancthon, thus combined, form that celebrated piece which is designated as the Confession of Augsburg, from the place at which it first became known to the world. This impor-

[y] These had been drawn up and agreed on in the conference of Sulzbach, in the year 1529. From the place at which they were presented to the Elector, they were called the *articles of Torgaw*. Mosheim, IV. 77.

[z] "Opera studioque et cura atque immenso labore Philippi Melancthonis." Camerar. Vita Melancthon. Hag. Com. 1655. 121.

tant formulary is divided into twenty-eight sections; of which the last eight define the differences subsisting between the Lutherans and the Romanists[a]: the former divisions treat of doctrines about which, except in the case of the Eucharist, there is little real dispute among such as hold the essentials of Christianity. The whole performance is distinguished by so much moderation, and the positions likely to be controverted are supported by such irrefragable authorities from Scripture, that a great effect could hardly fail to flow from the reading of it. Apprehensive of this, Charles at first refused to allow the Confession to be publicly read at all; but the Protestant princes declared, that unless this privilege were allowed them, they must wholly decline making any statement of their opinions to the diet. As their aid against the Turks was in that case hopeless, the Emperor consented to give way; but he insisted upon having the Confession read in a chapel not capable of containing more

[a] These are introduced by a discourse upon Faith and Good Works. The disputable points treated of are, 1. Invocation, which is restricted to God alone; 2. The Mass; 3. Half Communion; 4. Confession; 5. Distinctions between meats; 6. Clerical celibacy; 7. Monastic vows; 8. Ecclesiastical authority. Romish practices under the last seven of these heads are styled *abuses*. The confession was signed by John, Elector of Saxony; George, Margrave of Brandenburg; Ernest and Francis, Dukes of Luneburg; Philip, Landgrave of Hesse; John Frederic, Duke of Saxony; Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt; together with the imperial cities of Nuremberg and Reutlingen. Sylloge Confessionum. Oxon. 1804. 106.

than two hundred persons. In this confined place, Bayer, the chancellor of Saxony, advanced to read. "Use the Latin copy," said Charles to him, as he was about to begin. "Sire," said Bayer's master, John the Constant, "we are now on German ground, and I trust that your Majesty will not command the apology for our faith, which ought to be made as public as possible, to be read in a language which the Germans do not understand." This appeal the Emperor could not resist; and Bayer, in the vernacular tongue, then read the confession in so loud a voice, that it was distinctly heard by the people who crowded the adjoining court-yard [b].

The public reading of this important document occasioned considerable surprise to many candid individuals among its Romish auditors, who now perceived that Luther's opinions had been grossly misrepresented, since indeed there was nothing in them at variance with sound morality, or with the essentials of the Christian faith [c]. But this

[b] Coxe, House of Austria, II. 139. Another confession was offered to the diet from the four towns, Strasburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindaw; hence called the *Tetrapolitan Confession*. Bucer drew up this document. The four towns did not subscribe to the confession drawn up by Luther and Melancthon, because they differed from these Reformers respecting the Eucharist. Zuingle also sent to the diet a private account of his religious opinions. Note to Mosheim, IV. 93.

[c] Mosheim, IV. 92. Some Romish divines were employed to prepare a confutation of the Confession of Augsburg; and the result of their labours was read to the diet. In this piece, the following Protestant doctrines were rejected absolutely: that

conviction either did not visit, or did not operate upon, Charles and his advisers, who, hopeless of crushing Protestantism at that time, were merely intent upon organising a confederacy against the Turks. They accordingly endeavoured to impress upon the diet, that Solyman's persevering hostility was then the object of paramount importance to Germany. To this, however, it was replied, that nothing so nearly concerned the empire as a satisfactory adjustment of those religious differences by which it was distracted. Charles proposed to suspend the agitation of such questions until the meeting of a general council; and in the mean time he recommended that both parties should adhere to the *ancient* religion. The Protestants met this recommendation by asserting that *theirs* was the *ancient* religion[d]. At length, plainly perceiving that there was no hope of an issue satisfactory to his party from these discussions, the Emperor assumed an authoritative tone, and required the Protestants to renounce their peculiar opinions. This mandate produced no other effect than to awaken anger and suspicion in the breasts of the Reformers. A notion began to prevail among them, that the Emperor meant to seize their leaders; and, in consequence of it,

good works are no wise meritorious; that justification flows through faith alone; that the Church is a congregation of pious individuals; that no satisfaction can now be offered for sins; that saints are not mediators between God and man. Sleidan, 107.

[d] Herbert, 150.

the Landgrave of Hesse privately withdrew from Augsburg. No sooner was Charles apprised of this flight, than he commanded the city gates to be closed. This order, sensible of its impolicy, he soon afterwards revoked; but nothing could inspire the two parties with any degree of cordiality towards each other. At length the Emperor completely threw off the mask. In November he caused a decree to be promulged, by which the Protestants were enjoined to renounce their principles, and the exercise of their religion, under the severest penalties. Security, unless by means of a defensive league, was now evidently hopeless with the Reformers; and therefore they lost no time in meeting at Smalcald, and confederating for their mutual protection. Luther was at first averse from this plan of giving a political character to the society formed by his means. "This is God's cause," said the Reformer, "and therefore leave the defence of it to Providence." However, at length he became convinced that nothing but an imposing attitude could shield the friends of Scriptural Christianity from the violence of their adversaries; and he was hence induced to admit the propriety of taking measures for the security of his party. The confederates at Smalcald then proceeded to the arrangement of plans for their defence*; and in order the more effectually to defy their domestic foes, they invited the Kings of England, France, Sweden, and Denmark, to

* In December, 1530. Sleidan, 115.

lend them assistance and protection in their arduous undertaking.

The news of this confederacy caused great embarrassment to the Emperor. He was now intent upon gaining over the Electors to choose his brother Ferdinand, King of the Romans. He could not, however, hope to obtain this boon from the Elector of Saxony. But, notwithstanding, he persevered in his design, and Ferdinand was chosen [a]. In vain did the Saxon prince protest against this election as invalid. Charles had carried his point as completely as could be expected under existing circumstances; and on the 11th of January, in the year 1531, Ferdinand was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle [c]. Important as was this advantage, the Austrian family had, however, still just ground for uneasiness. Solyman, stung by the disgrace of having been obliged to sound a retreat under the walls of Vienna, was making immense preparations for a new irruption into Hungary; and the Pope was beginning to take offence at Charles's opposition to his plans. If, therefore, the Emperor had entangled himself in acts of open hostility against the Protestants, he would in all probability have inflicted a serious injury upon the interests of his house. Sensible of this, and finding the Romish princes of the empire inclined to lend him no effectual aid [b], Charles made up his mind to temporise once

[a] January 5, 1531. Sleidan, 117.

[b] Herbert, 151.

[c] Coxe, House of Austria, II. 140.

more, and to court the alliance of potentates whom he could not safely treat as enemies.

The Protestants, however, having found their overtures favourably received by the courts of France and England [1], had now acquired a considerable degree of political importance; and hence they steadily resisted every attempt to infringe their religious liberties. This firmness on their part rendered the Emperor's negociations with them extremely tedious; and it was not until April, 1532, that the head of the empire and its discontented members came to an understanding with each other. Even then Charles appears to have been anxious to confine his concessions within the narrowest limits possible, as the terms of pacification were not arranged until after a delay of many weeks; but the succours of the Protestants were become so urgently needful in the ancient patrimony of the Austrian family, that they were enabled at length to obtain such terms as were perfectly satisfactory. On the 23d of July the preliminaries of a treaty between the two parties at variance were settled at Ratisbon; and, in the following month, an agreement was finally concluded at Nuremberg. This is considered as the first religious peace made in Germany. The principal articles of it were, that none should be molested upon account of religion until the meeting of a general council; that such

[1] Sleidan, 121. Henry sent to the Protestant league a subsidy of 50,000 crowns. Herbert, 154.

a deliberative body should be assembled, if possible, within twelve months; but if this should be found impracticable, that the principal points in dispute should be considered in diets holden within the empire; that all judicial processes relating to religion should be suspended; and all law-suits instituted for the restoration of church property, be null and void. These important concessions were published through Germany by means of an imperial proclamation; and the Protestants[k], who were already prepared to take the field, gladly turned those arms, which they had assumed for the purpose of repelling domestic aggression, to the more grateful office of defending their neighbours against the gigantic efforts of Turkish hostility.

Indeed few Germans could watch the movements of Solyman without uneasiness. That able monarch, eager to obliterate the memory of his late repulse, and confident of finding the Austrian power paralysed by intestine dissensions, had spent two years in preparation for another mighty effort, and had now again overrun the plains of Hungary with his warlike hordes. Three hundred thousand fierce barbarians followed his standard; and Ferdinand, utterly unprepared to withstand an invasion so formidable, was filled with just alarm respecting the issue of a campaign so threatening. He sent rich presents to the Sultan,

[k] The Protestant league was joined by seven princes, and twenty-four cities. Sleidan, 127.

and proposals of peace. Solyman would not even condescend to notice these overtures. "Order the infidels," said he, speaking of the Austrian ambassadors, "to follow my camp, and wait my pleasure." Whenever it became necessary to mention Charles, the arrogant Mussulman desired that he should be designated as King of Spain, asserting that there was no emperor but himself[1]. Inflated with this presumptuous folly, the oriental despot led his myrmidons through the midst of a prostrate population to Guntz, an obscure town on the confines of Styria. The feeble fortifications of the place were defended by a garrison not more than eight hundred strong; but Jurissitz, an officer able, active, and intrepid, was in command; and all the exertions of Solyman to overcome, within a moderate time, this obstacle to his progress, proved unavailing. Breach after breach was effected in the walls of Guntz; bribes, promises, and threats were successively employed in the hope of shaking the gallant officer's resolution; but his spirit, his vigilance, and magnanimity were proof against every expedient of the assailants. At last, after a siege of twenty-eight days, Solyman was fain to accept of a qualified submission from the intrepid Jurissitz; who was, however, allowed to remain in possession of the fortress, which his exertions have immortalized. This interruption to the Sultan's march checked his pride, and ruined his hopes. When at length

[1] Herbert, 159.

his multitudes were set free from their heartless labours under the walls of Guntz, the long pending negociations with the Protestants were concluded, and Charles advanced to oppose the Moslem's progress at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand men, among whom were troops from every part of Germany, and veterans who had hastened from distant regions to join the imperial standard. The baffled Ottoman would then have gladly committed his fortunes to the issue of a battle; but Charles, aware that want of provisions, and the approach of winter, must shortly compel his enemy to retreat, contentedly remained upon the defensive. The wisdom of this course soon became apparent. Before the end of September, Solyman, without striking a blow, was compelled to retrace his inglorious steps; and thus Christendom gained an effectual, though bloodless, victory over one of the most formidable hosts that ever menaced her safety [m].

During the progress of Solyman's invasion, Cranmer resided at the imperial court; and received, in common with the other foreign ministers, urgent demands of assistance on the part of Charles. These demands were duly transmitted to England; and it appears, that had not the Turks been compelled to evacuate the Austrian dominions, Henry was willing to support the Christian cause by means of military aid. Besides conducting the correspondence upon this subject,

[m] Coxe, House of Austria, II. 224.

Cranmer was engaged in endeavouring to remove some obstacles which had arisen to impede the commercial intercourse between England and the Netherlands; but he found the imperial ministers little disposed to second the views of his court; and he was obliged to recommend, that a minister should be despatched to Flanders for the specific purpose of negociating upon the points in dispute between the two countries [n].

Another business entrusted to the English minister during his residence in Germany, was one from which he could not have failed to derive personally considerable gratification. He was instructed to make a secret visit to the electoral court of Saxony. He carried letters for the Elector, as well as for other princes who had joined the Protestant league; and in conversation he expressed his sovereign's anxiety to support the confederates in the maintenance of their principles. On the 15th of July Cranmer received a letter from the Elector to his master, and he then departed from the Saxon court; but four days afterwards he returned thither, attended by a single servant, and held some private conversation with Spalatinus, the Elector's enlightened secretary, and a man to whom the cause of Scriptural Christianity was under important obligations. In a political point of view, these visits of the English minister to the cradle of the Reformation, appeared rather unsatisfactory; for the Pro-

[n] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 17.

testant princes having nearly concluded an agreement with the Emperor, evinced an unwillingness to contract engagements at which that monarch would be likely to take umbrage; and they, besides, considered Henry's overtures as merely dictated by a desire to depress the Austrian family, but by no means with any intention to promote the dissemination of their own peculiar religious principles [o].

Soon after his return from Saxony, Cranmer was recalled from the continent for the purpose of filling the see of Canterbury, now vacant by the death of Archbishop Warham. During his residence abroad, the English envoy had not only fortified the religious views which he took from home, by personal observation of the Roman court, and by his intercourse with the German Lutherans, he had also rendered hopeless his return to Popery, as then and now subsisting, by contracting a second marriage. At Nuremberg he had lodged in the house of Andrew Osiander, a Protestant divine of distinguished reputation; and had formed a matrimonial connexion with that clergyman's niece [p]. Luther had thus evinced

[o] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 18.

[p] The following specimen of slanderous flippancy is worthy of notice, because it affords an opportunity of judging as to the value of Bossuet's comments upon the Reformers. "De Rome il (Cranmer) passa en Allemagne pour y menager les Protestans ses bons amis; et ce fut alors qu'il epousa la sœur d'Osiandre. *On dit qu'il l'avoit seduit, et qu'on le contraignit de l'epouser; mais je ne guarantis point ces faits scandaleux*, jusqu'a ce que je les trouve bien averréz par le temoignage des auteurs du parti,

his contempt for the tyranny of Papal Rome several years before; and many ministers of religion had taken the same step [q]. In deliberating upon a measure so decisive, it appears that the seculars and regulars had reason to view the question in different lights. The latter had made a vow of celibacy; and it was therefore a matter for their serious reflection, whether such an engagement, having been once contracted, ought not to be considered as inviolable. It was indeed true of the converted monk, that he became sensible of having acted under a delusion when he bound himself to renounce the liberty which God and nature gave him; and it may reasonably be doubted, whether engagements contracted in error, and upheld by an usurped authority which spreads that error, are binding upon the consciences of men. The powerful mind of Luther became convinced, that such engagements may be safely broken, and his deliberate opinion upon any subject is undoubtedly worthy of great attention [r].

ou en tout cas non suspects. Pour la marriage le fait est constant. Ces Messieurs sont accoutumez, malgré les canons et malgré la profession de la continence, a tenir de tels marriages pour honnêtes." Hist. des Variations, ch. vii. p. 285.

[q] Luther espoused "on the 13th of July, 1525, Catharine Bora, a noble lady, who had escaped from the nunnery at Nimptschen, and taken up her residence at Wittemberg." (Coxe, House of Austria, II. 123.) Previously to this Carlostadt had married; but "the first example was set in 1521, by a priest of Kemberg, named Bartholomew Bernardi." Ibid. 115, note.

[r] It was probably thought by those who considered monastic vows not binding upon the conscience, that such vows, deriving

But whatever may be thought of the contempt shewn by individuals once attached to the monastic orders for the absurd and pernicious engagements which they had contracted, no censure can be justly passed upon such Romish clergymen, unconnected with monkery, as chose to enter into the nuptial state. They had indeed taken orders with a knowledge that they would not be allowed to marry by the canons of the Papal Church; perhaps they might at one time have imagined themselves obliged in conscience to live in celibacy. But they had bound themselves by no express vow [*]; and therefore, if they thought of marrying, they had only to consider how far such a step would compromise their temporal interests, and their personal security. With respect to both these things, it may be thought that Cranmer, by his marriage, shewed an indifference not easy to

their sole efficacy from the Roman see, need not place any impediment in the way of actions allowed by God's Word. The Jesuit Sanchez admits, that such vows merely derive the character generally assigned to them by Romanists from papal legislation, that anciently they were not considered capable of rendering void a subsequent marriage, nor that they would have any such operation at present, were it not alone for the authority of the Church, a term by which he means the Papacy. De Matrimonio. Lugdun, 1739. II. 94. 100.

[*] Ecclesia "cogit eos qui ordinem sacrum assumunt, ut votum castitatis emittant *non expresse sed facto ipso et tacite, quamvis enim non voce vovcant*, at facto et opere profitentur castitatem per sacrorum ordinum susceptionem." (Ibid. 104.) In plain English, the Papal Church taking it for granted that her clergy have made a vow of celibacy within their own breasts, punishes them if they venture to marry.

reconcile with his undeniable good sense and caution. But it should be recollected, that he did not marry until the Legislature of his native country had virtually denied the Pope's right to interfere in English affairs; and that the restraint upon clerical marriages is a mere act of papal tyranny, unsanctioned by Scripture, or by the common law of England [t], and was only rendered obligatory upon the English clergy by the connivance of the Norman princes [u], whose usurpation was sanctioned by the Pope, and whose object in

[t] It was decided in the law courts, in the reign of Henry VII. that the marriage of a priest is voidable, but not void; and, consequently, that his issue shall inherit, being legitimately born. Foxe, 1073.

[u] In 1076, at a council holden at Winchester, Lanfranc, the learned Italian monk who was then Archbishop of Canterbury, procured the passing of a decree, by which no canon was to be a married man: married clergymen, however, having cures in the country, and in castles, were allowed to retain their wives; but no man was to be ordained in future who would not make a *promise* to remain single. (Collier, I. 248.) The rigour of this decree was increased in a council holden at Westminster in 1102, under Lanfranc's successor, Anselm, another Italian monk; for upon this occasion it was ordered, that no clergyman who refused to part with his wife, should be allowed to officiate. (Ibid. 286.) However, the English clergy steadily resisted the tyranny of these able, but ill-judging, foreigners. And at another council, holden at Westminster, in 1125, under an Italian cardinal of infamously licentious morals, new condemnations were fulminated against clerical marriages. (Ibid. 318.) Notwithstanding these different decrees, the marriage of the clergy was not wholly prevented for more than two centuries afterwards; and the issue of such marriages appear, from several documents printed by Foxe, (1065, et seq.) to have encountered no difficulties in the courts of law upon the score of illegitimacy.

making concessions to the Roman see was obviously no other than to cement their own authority over the nation which they had conquered. Cranmer probably thought, that Italian interference was not likely to be suffered any longer in English affairs, and that he might therefore use his own discretion as to a step which was perfectly allowable both by the laws of his religion and of his country.

The foreign residence of Cranmer, though tending in most respects to confirm his alienation from the principles in which he had been reared, had, however, in one remarkable particular, something of an opposite tendency. Of all the doctrines inculcated by Romanism, the most striking and important far is transubstantiation. From considering our Saviour's words at the institution of the Eucharistic Supper apart from the circumstances under which they were spoken, from the context, and from parallel passages, a notion had gradually made its way in Europe under favour of the intellectual darkness which ushered in the eleventh century, that the sacramental elements were converted by priestly consecration into the identical body and blood of Jesus. From this opinion there was an easy transition to the worship of substances, considered as they were to be no other than an incarnation of the Deity. In process of time it came to be believed among Romanists, that the adoration of God, thus thought to be visibly, tangibly present, was the most im-

portant part of public worship. No longer was it esteemed reasonable that bread and wine should not be consecrated unless the congregation were prepared to communicate; if the priest alone received, and the people merely looked on with silent adoration, the calls of religion were considered as amply satisfied. Nor upon this principle was it esteemed very material that the service was in a tongue unintelligible to the bulk of the population; and that such as could understand the words uttered by the priest, were scarcely able to distinguish them: it was for the beatific vision of their God, that men went to mass; and being satisfied that they were not disappointed of this gratification, they returned to their homes contented. So high a value was ordinarily placed upon this act of worship, that many pious or superstitious individuals could hardly persuade themselves to lie down peaceably on their beds at night, unless they had seen their Maker, as the phrase commonly went, in the course of the preceding day. The long prevalence of this veneration for the sacramental substances, caused them to be viewed with a feeling of awe, such as Christians in general would deem superstitious and absurd: to term them bread and wine after priestly consecration, was thought to border closely upon direct blasphemy; to omit the bending of the knee before these hallowed objects, appeared the height of impiety; priests were directed to aim at the highest degree of purity, because they han-

dled daily the Lord's body[x]; such of the venerated substances as were not used at the time of consecration, were to be carefully guarded from profane contact, and from the attacks of brute animals; if a drop of our Lord's blood, as the hallowed wine was termed, should be casually spilt upon an altar-cloth, that portion of the cloth was to be reverently removed and burnt; if an insect should have chanced to fall into the chalice, exciting such an invincible sense of loathing in the officiating minister, as compelled him to refuse the cup, the disgusting intruder was to be cautiously abstracted, and committed to the flames[y]. With the profound respect for the Eucharistic substances, thus fostered in the breasts of the clergy, the superstition of the people fully kept pace. Mass was considered as a remedy against the majority of human ills. While men enjoyed the beatific vision, and while they were on their way to or from the hallowed edifice in which it was offered to their eyes, age and sickness were believed to suspend their corrosive influence over the frame, danger to be no fit cause for apprehension[z]: nor if some calamity should have over-

[x] This was one of the reasons assigned for enforcing clerical celibacy.

[y] Such decrees occur frequently among the canons of councils holden in the thirteenth century.

[z] In the "Festival," a work compiled for parochial use on holidays, and reprinted by Wynkin de Worde in 1532, are the following passages: "That day thou hearest thy mass, God granteth thee needful and lawful things. That day idle oaths

taken a man on a day in which he had not been to mass, did superstitious observers hesitate to say, that if the sufferer had been so fortunate as to have seen his Maker on that day[a], he would most probably have escaped his adversity.

and forgotten sins been forgiven. That day thou shalt not leese thine eyesight, ne die no sudden death: ne in the time of the mass thou shalt not wax aged. Every step thitherward and homeward an angel shall reckon." Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 215.

[a] The state of popular feeling as to a sight of the sacramental elements, is thus described by Archbishop Cranmer. "The very Antichrists, the subtlest enemies that Christ hath, by their fine inventions, and crafty scholastical divinity, have deluded many simple souls, and brought them to this horrible idolatry, to worship things visible and made with their own hands, persuading them that creatures were their Creator, their God, and their Maker. For else what made the people to run from their seats to the altar, and from altar to altar, and from sacring, as they called it, to sacring, peeping, tooting, and gazing at that thing which the priest held up in his hands, if they thought not to honour that thing which they saw? What moved the priests to lift up the Sacrament so high over their heads? or the people to cry out to the priests, hold up, hold up, and one man to say to another, stoop down before, or to say, this day I have seen my Maker; and I cannot be quiet except I see my Maker once a day? What was the cause of all these, and that as well the priests as the people so devoutly did knock and kneel at every sight of the Sacrament, but that they worshipped that visible thing which they saw with their eyes, and took it for very God? For if they worshipped in spirit only Christ sitting in heaven with his Father, what needeth they to remove out of their seats to toot and gaze, as the Apostles did after Christ when he was gone up into heaven? If they worshipped nothing that they saw, why did they rise up to see? Doubtless many of the simple people worshipped that thing which they saw with their eyes." Defence of the True and Catholick Doctrine of the Sacrament, edited by the Rev. Mr. Todd. Lond. 1825. 221.

To these opinions respecting the Eucharist, another was added, which has stamped a mercenary character upon the Church of Rome. It was taught, that the mere sight of the Deity was not the only comfort offered to a pious mind by the mass. Besides calling the Saviour sensibly from his heavenly abode in that solemnity, the priest was said to offer him up anew, a sacrifice for sin. Thus the worshipper conceived, that he derived a substantial benefit from the ceremonies which he observed in progress at the altar. His sins were before his eyes, as he trusted, finding a propitiation. In consequence of this opinion the consecrated bread was termed the *Host*, or *Victim*[b]. Nor were the advantages imputed to this imaginary sacrifice restricted, according to the general belief, to such as were present at it. The absent, and even the dead, it was asserted, were also capable of deriving important benefits from masses celebrated for their particular relief. Upon this doctrine was founded that gainful but disreputable trade of saying masses satisfactory, which threw so large a portion of the public wealth into the hands of the clergy throughout the papal reign.

It must be evident that doctrines like these, which had obtained almost universal currency through the West of Europe during a long series

[b] "Hostia, properly a sacrifice for having obtained a victory over one's enemies; but it is used in a larger sense for a sacrifice on other occasions." Ainsworth.

of years, and which had entwined themselves around the best affections of the most pious men, could not be approached by religious minds without exciting in them an overpowering sensation of reverential awe. Such, accordingly, was the effect left by these doctrines even upon the vigorous intellect of Luther. A high degree of veneration for the sacramental elements had "grown with his growth, and strengthened with his strength." There were passages in the New Testament, there were passages in the writings of the fathers, which appeared to warrant this exalted opinion of the consecrated bread and wine. He found it difficult, he would not allow himself, to scrutinize minutely prejudices so deeply rooted in his mind, so connected with his best feelings, so seemingly respectable in their origin and in their advocates. He did not indeed venture to assert with the Romanists, that the substances appearing to mortal eyes bread and wine, had in fact become flesh and blood. Nor, as he could find no mention in the New Testament of any sacrifice offered for the sins of Christians except that of the cross, did he believe that when mass-priests professed to offer a propitiation for iniquity, they uttered any other than a pernicious, an interested, and an impious fiction. He insisted, taking Scripture for his guide, that the Eucharist was to be received, not gazed upon, or worshipped by the congregation; and he would not consent, that according to the superstitious and unauthorized usage of the Roman Church,

the cup should be refused to the laity. But at these points ended his notions of reform as applied to the Sacramental Supper. Hence he substituted for the Romish doctrine respecting the Eucharist, one that does not very materially differ from it. He taught, that consecration did not indeed convert the bread and wine into other substances, but that it combined *with* bread and wine the real body and blood of Christ[c]. This assumed change was termed Consubstantiation, a word of which indeed the first syllable is unknown to the Romish nomenclature, but marking a doctrine approaching very near to that of the Papal Church.

Zuingle, in his opinion of the Eucharist, was completely at variance with his great Saxon contemporary, as he taught that the sacramental elements underwent no change whatever from consecration, but were still mere bread and wine, serving for no other purpose than to symbolize and commemorate the sacrifice of Calvary[d]. Lu-

[c] "De cœna Domini docent, quod *cum* pane et vino vere exhibeantur corpus et sanguis Christi." (Confess. August. in Syll. Confess. 134.) Luther endeavoured to illustrate his doctrine respecting the Holy Supper, by saying, that as in a red hot iron are united fire and metal, two substances of different natures; so in the Eucharist is combined Christ's body with the consecrated bread. Note to Mosheim, IV. 63.

[d] "Illa Christi verba, Hoc est corpus meum, Lutherus intelligit simpliciter et nude, nec aliam admittit interpretationem, et corpus atque sanguinem Christi vere esse in pane ac vino, et sic etiam ore percipi dicit. Zuinglius autem contendit esse tropum, et id genus alios complures ait in Bibliis reperiri, et ea quæ

ther was highly disgusted with this doctrine, and considered it a signal disgrace to the Reformation. In the outcry raised in Saxony against the Swiss principles, the Romanists, as it might be expected, cordially joined, not only because they rejoiced to see the Reformers differing with each other, but also because they were really shocked by the manner in which Zuingle treated objects, which from infancy they had regarded as divine. Both Lutherans and Papists agreed in stigmatizing the Helvetian Protestants as Sacramentaries, and after coupling them with the Anabaptists, in representing them as deserving only of execration.

However, as Luther's doctrine was very little more reasonable than that of the Papists, and not at all more reconcilable with an accurate interpretation of Scripture, it soon lost ground even in Germany. Thus the Reformers of that country became a divided body; and the political union, urgently required by the posture of their affairs, was rendered impracticable by the force of doctrinal antipathies. After the second diet of Spire, when the illustrious confessors who signed the memorable Protest were anxious to bring the whole strength of the Reformation to bear against the efforts of the Romish party, the evils arising from the Eucharistic controversy became painfully conspicuous, and the Landgrave of Hesse

diximus verba sic exponit, Hoc significat corpus meum." Sleidan, 82.

would fain have terminated a dissension apparently so injurious to the cause which he had at heart. For this purpose he arranged a conference at Marpurg[e], between Luther, Zuingle, and other eminent divines attached to each of the contending parties. The discussions at this place tended partially to dispel the prejudices against the Swiss Reformers which prevailed in Saxony; for Luther rendered ample justice to the soundness of Zuingle's principles upon every subject excepting that of the Eucharist. Upon that point the two leaders of the Reformation discovered a difference of opinion, which nothing could reconcile. However, they departed from Marpurg, if not cordial, at least tolerant. But this state of feeling did not continue long. In the confession of Augsburg the Zuinglians were expressly condemned[f]. In the league of Smalcald it was prudently as well as charitably proposed to include the Swiss Protestants; but Luther, very little to his credit either as a Christian or as a politician, advised that they should not be admitted; and their co-operation, accordingly, was declined[g]. In the pacification of Nuremberg, it was proposed by the Romanists, shrewdly enough, that the Lutherans should engage not to unite with the

[e] In October, 1529. Sleidan, 101.

[f] One of the two forms given to the article upon the Eucharist in the Confession of Augsburg, after asserting consubstantiation, thus concludes: "Et improbant secus docentes." Syll. Conf. 135.

[g] Note to Mosheim, IV. 98.

Anabaptists and Sacramentaries. The Lutherans readily consented to this illiberal and insidious arrangement [h].

It was during the progress of that negociation, which terminated in the pacification of Nuremberg, that Cranmer resided at the imperial court. Thus situated, his attention could not fail to be keenly fixed upon the points in debate between the contending parties; and of these points it should not be forgotten, one was the propriety of renouncing all connexion with the followers of Zuinglius. There can be no doubt, that those who agreed to an act so fraught with injustice and impolicy, were often engaged in arguing the question, by means of which they had afforded to the Romanists a satisfaction so considerable; and it was among these anti-sacramentaries that Cranmer found his confidential foreign friends. It does not indeed appear, that he adopted Luther's refinements upon the Eucharistic question. He seems to have thought that the difference between the Saxon and the Romish doctrine was not very material: hence, so far as the Eucharist was concerned, the principal effect produced upon his mind by what he heard in Germany, was a confirmation of his belief in transubstantiation [i].

[h] Sleidan, 127.

[i] It has been supposed by many writers, both Protestant and Romish, that Cranmer once held the doctrine of consubstantiation; but this opinion is incorrect. The Archbishop, when asked at Oxford, "What doctrine taught you when you condemned Lambert the Sacramentary in the King's presence in White-

hall?" thus answered: "I maintained then the Papists' doctrine." The condemnation of Lambert, at which Cranmer was present, and to the justice of which he probably assented, though he did not pronounce it, took place in 1538. At the same Oxford examination, the Archbishop, when charged with having maintained "*three* contrary doctrines" respecting the Eucharist, asserted that he had taught "but *two* contrary doctrines in the same," and that he was brought over from his former opinion upon that subject by means of Bishop Ridley. (Foxe, 1703.) It indeed appears, from a Catechism which he published from the German at the beginning of King Edward's reign, that he was not even then fully persuaded as to the falsity of transubstantiation.

CHAPTER III.

Archbishop Warham—Cranmer appointed Archbishop of Canterbury—His protest—Decision of the Convocation upon the King's marriage—Appeals to the Pope forbidden by act of Parliament—Marriage of the King to Anne Boleyn—Intercourse between the courts of England and France—A sentence of nullity pronounced upon the King's marriage with Catharine of Aragon—Unsuccessful endeavours to procure her acquiescence in it—Notice of Henry's marriage given to the Emperor—Conduct of the Pope—Frith—Birth and christening of the Lady Elizabeth—The Pope's visit to Marseilles—Manifesto prepared by the English government—Preaching suspended—Seditious behaviour of the Franciscan Observants—Elizabeth Barton's imposture—Indirect overture from the Pope—Debates in council in consequence—Final rupture with Rome—Proposal to debate the papal supremacy among the prelates—The Pope's authority in England abolished by the Legislature.

WILLIAM WARHAM was a native of Hampshire, in which county his family held the rank of gentlemen. He was educated in the two St. Mary Winton colleges, and when arrived at adult age he applied himself to the study of civil law. To his acquirements in this branch of learning were added a ready eloquence, and a respectable proficiency in the literature of his time. The first appointment of importance to which he attained was the mastership of the Rolls. During his occupancy of this situation he was despatched as ambassador to the court of Burgundy, for the pur-

pose of undeceiving the Duke as to the imposture of Perkin Warbeck. On the translation of Thomas Savage to the archbishopric of York, Warham was consecrated Bishop of London; and on the death of Henry Dene, he was removed to the metropolitical see of Canterbury[a]. He was already Lord Chancellor, and he held that distinguished office until deprived of it to make way for Cardinal Wolsey[b]. He appears to have been a prudent, sensible man, who so managed to pass through a long and public life, as to leave an untarnished reputation behind him. The memory of Archbishop Warham is the more deserving of respect, because that prelate seems to have shewn no reluctance against acknowledging the royal supremacy; an attack upon inveterate abuses, which was made during his primacy, and which must be considered as the first step taken in restoring to their rights the English Church and crown[c]. After filling the see of Canterbury during twenty-eight years, the Archbishop sank under

[a] Parker, 455.

[b] Archbishop Warham was appointed Master of the Rolls in 1494, Keeper of the Great Seal in 1502, and Lord Chancellor in the following year. (Note to Godwin, De Præsul. 134.) He was appointed to the see of London in 1502, and translated to that of Canterbury in 1504.

[c] Accordingly Archbishop Cranmer thus said at his examination before the commissioners at Oxford: "My predecessor, Bishop Warham, gave the supremacy to King Henry the Eighth, and said that he ought to have it before the Bishop of Rome, and that God's Word would bear him." Foxe, 1702.

the weight of age and infirmity [d] at the residence of his nephew, the Archdeacon of Canterbury, within a short distance of that city, and he was buried in his cathedral church.

This important vacancy was no sooner made than letters of recall were despatched to Cranmer; but he, suspecting his sovereign's object, was in no hurry to return home. He urged, as an apology for delay, that the negociations entrusted to his management were yet incomplete [e]. However, in November he had reached England, and the see of Canterbury was pressed upon his acceptance. The offer filled his mind with uneasiness, and he would have gladly declined the splendid appointment [f]. He must indeed have

[d] On the 22d of August, 1532. Note to Godwin, De Præsul. 136.

[e] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 22.

[f] The following is the account given by the Archbishop himself to the commissioners at Oxford. "I protest before you all, that there was never man came more unwilling to a bishopric, than I did to that. In so much, that when King Henry did send for me in post, that I should come over, I prolonged my journey by seven weeks at the least, thinking that he would be forgetful of me in the mean time." (Foxe, 1703.) Cardinal Pole insinuates pretty plainly, that Cranmer was made archbishop upon condition of annulling the King's marriage. "Ecquis autem ignorat, te, ob hanc unam causam archiepiscopum esse factum? Quis ambigat te, non per ostium, sed per fenestram, vel potius per cuniculos, *tanquam furem et latronem* intrasse?" (Poli ep. ad Tho. Cranm. inter MSS. Harl.) An anonymous writer proceeds a step farther than this uncivil cardinal. He says, that the King offered the archbishopric to "*divers reverend persons*,"

foreseen that great difficulties were likely to beset him as Archbishop of Canterbury, from the

upon the "impious condition" of obtaining from them a divorce; and that, being repulsed by these nameless divines, he had recourse to Cranmer, who "made no bones to accept it upon this simoniacal condition." (MS. Hist. Ref. Bibl. Harl.) Sanders says, that the archbishopric was first offered to Pole, and that after he had refused it on the proposed condition, the Earl of Wiltshire and Anne Boleyn recommended Cranmer as one who would engage to do what was required. Such slanders appear to have been current in the Archbishop's time, and thus were mentioned to him by Dr. Martin, when he was put upon his defence at Oxford: "You declare well by the way, that the King took you to be a man of good conscience, who could not find within all his realm any man that would set forth his strange attempts, but was enforced to send for you in post to come out of Germany. What may we *conjecture* hereby, but that there was a compact between you, being then Queen Anne's chaplain, and the King: give me the archbishopric of Canterbury, and I will give you licence to live in adultery?" This insult Cranmer repelled, by answering with contemptuous brevity, "*You say not true.*" Dr. Lingard, in his mention of Cranmer's appointment, treads with some caution, but with tolerable exactitude in the steps of former Romanists. He says, "The sees of York and Winchester had remained vacant since the death of Wolsey, from the King's desire to give one of them to Pole; but he would not support the divorce, though besought by his brothers to do so." Afterwards we are told, "Thomas Cranmer had long been a dependant in the family of the Earl of Wiltshire, and had assisted the father and the daughter with his services and advice: his book in favour of the divorce, the boldness with which he had advocated the royal cause at Rome, and the industry with which he had solicited signatures both in Italy and Germany, had recommended him to the notice of the King; and both Henry and Anne flattered themselves, that in selecting him for the successor of Warham, they had found an archbishop according to their own hearts."

state of Henry's matrimonial cause, from his own religious principles, and from the marriage which he had contracted. Even, therefore, if Cranmer had been less modest, and less attached to studious retirement than he really was, his own good sense could not have failed to convince him, that, unless in a private station, he had very little prospect of happiness. The King, however, was determined upon advancing him to the vacant see, and would admit no refusal.

At length he urged an obstruction in the way of his compliance with the royal pleasure, to which Henry could scarcely feel insensible. "If I should receive the archbishopric," said Cranmer, "I must receive it from the Pope; which I neither can nor will do. Your Highness is the only supreme governor of the English Church in all causes, whether ecclesiastical or civil. To you, and not to any foreign authority, belongs the full right of bestowing dignities and promotions, as well spiritual as temporal. If, therefore, I must serve God, my king, and my country, in the vocation now pressed upon me, I must accept it of your Majesty, not of some stranger, who has no authority whatever within this realm." On hearing this rational language, Henry desired Cranmer to prepare a statement of the reasons upon which he grounded his objection to comply with formalities long considered indispensable to those who entered upon the discharge of episcopal functions. In obedience to this command, was shortly after submitted to his Majesty a mass of authori-

ties from Scripture, and from the records of ecclesiastical antiquity, proving that princes are not bound to admit the interference of any foreigner in the conducting of their own domestic concerns. Henry afterwards conversed several times with Cranmer upon the difficulty that had arisen; and finding him inflexible, he at last consulted Dr. Oliver, and other civilians of eminence, as to the best mode of placing the object of his choice in the primacy, without either doing violence to that individual's own conscience, or to the popular prejudice in favour of the Pope's concurrence. These learned persons advised, that, before consecration, the prelate elect should, in a solemn protest, declare his determination not to hold himself bound by the oath, which would be required of him, to do any thing inconsistent with his duty as a Christian minister, or as an English subject[g]. In this arrangement Cranmer acquiesced, and an application for the bulls usually required at the consecration of a metropolitan, was then made at Rome by the King[h].

When Henry's messenger reached the papal court, Clement felt some doubt as to the expe-

[g] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 23. In the year 1526, the reigning King of France, before signing the treaty of Madrid, "took a formal protest in the hands of notaries, that his consent to the treaty should be considered as an involuntary deed, and be deemed null and void." This act was highly disingenuous, for Francis made the protest secretly; yet the Pope undertook to absolve the French monarch from the oath that he had taken. Robertson, Charles V. II. 252. 267.

[h] "In the end of January," 1533. Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 201.

diency of agreeing to authorise Cranmer's promotion[i]; but at length he made up his mind that he had gone quite far enough in irritating the English monarch, and the desired bulls, together with the pall, were despatched from Rome. The popes had usually charged on the consecration or translation of a clergyman to the see of Canterbury, the sum of ten thousand florins as annates, besides another five thousand florins for the pall[k]; but the payment of annates was now abolished by act of Parliament, unless the King should choose to revive or modify it; and as nothing was said upon this subject when the application was made at Rome on Cranmer's behalf, Clement did not venture to face the refusal which would probably have followed if the usual claim had been preferred. He, therefore, contented himself with a charge of nine hundred ducats, as a compensation for the whole contents of the package made up for England[l]. This, on its arrival, Cranmer

[i] Parker, 490.

[k] Fuller, 196. This writer computes the worth of a florin at four shillings and sixpence in English money.

[l] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 202. The ducat, Fuller says, is worth eight shillings. The articles transmitted upon this occasion from Rome to England consisted of eleven bulls, and the pall. Of the bulls, the first was addressed to the King, approving his choice, and appointing his nominee to the vacant see; the second, to Cranmer himself, apprising him of his promotion; the third absolved him from any ecclesiastical censures that he might have incurred; the fourth was addressed to the suffragans in the province of Canterbury, acquainting them with the preferment of their new metropolitan; the fifth was to the city and diocese of

sent to the King, refusing to receive any of his credentials from other hands than those of his lawful sovereign [m].

The 30th of March was the day fixed for the consecration of the archbishop elect, and the place was the chapel of St. Stephen, adjoining the palace of Westminster. When arrived there, Cranmer repaired to the chapter-house attached to the chapel, and in that edifice he solemnly

Canterbury; the sixth was to the chapter of the metropolitan church; the seventh was to those who held lands under the see of Canterbury; the eighth was to the laity of the city of Canterbury; the ninth directed the archbishop elect's consecration upon taking the usual oath; the tenth was to accompany the pall; the eleventh authorised the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London to invest him with this distinction. Strype, Mem. Cranm. 26.

The pall is a narrow strip of woollen cloth, which is thrown over the shoulders of Romish archbishops when they officiate upon great occasions. The form of this may be seen in the armorial bearings assigned to the sees of Canterbury, Armagh, and Dublin. Originally the pall was part of the imperial dress; and it was some Christian emperor who gave permission to wear it to the bishops of Rome. In process of time those artful prelates established the custom of sending the pall as a compliment to the metropolitans of the West; and at length, in 742, under Zacchary, the pope afterwards so serviceable to Pepin in his usurpation of the French crown, a canon was passed, obliging archbishops to apply for this distinction from Rome. The pall was consecrated by the Pope, laid upon the supposed tomb of St. Peter, and after the death of an archbishop was usually buried with him. Collier, I. 68.

[m] "He received, he said, a certain bull of the Pope, which he delivered unto the King, and was archbishop by him." Cranmer in answer to interrogatories put to him at Oxford. Foxe, 1704.

made his protest, as a precaution against being misunderstood in taking the oath about to be tendered to him. There were present as witnesses to this protest, Watkins, the King's prothonotary, Dr. John Tregonel, Thomas Bedyl, clerk of the King's council, Richard Guent, principal official of the court of Canterbury, and John Cocks, the Archbishop's auditor of the audience, and vicar-general in spirituals [n]. In the presence of these five respectable witnesses, the Archbishop elect solemnly declared, that he should take the oath to the Roman see, shortly to be required of him, rather to comply with established forms, than with any other view; that he did not mean to bind himself to do, say, or attempt any thing that shall be, or that shall seem to be, contrary to the law of God, or to the rights and prerogatives of the sovereign and state of England; that he would not bind himself from freely discussing, advising, and approving whatever might seem conducive to the reformation of religion, the advantage of the state, and the correction of abuses in the English Church [o]. It is evident that

[n] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 27.

[o] The following is a copy of Cranmer's protest, transcribed from his register by Mr. Strype, and printed in that author's Memorials of the Archbishop. (Appendix, 683.) "In Dei nomine amen. Coram vobis autentica persona et testibus fide dignis, hic presentibus, Ego Thomas in Cant. Archiepiscopum electus dico, allego, et in his scriptis, *palam, publice*, et expresse protestor; Quod cum juramentum, sive juramenta ab electis in Cant. Archiepiscopis præstari solita, me ante meam consecrationem, aut tempore ejusdem pro forma potius quam pro esse,

a man who disapproves of the principles asserted in this protest, is not trust worthy, as a minister

aut re obligatoria ad illam obtinendam oporteat; non est, nec erit meæ voluntatis aut intentionis per hujusmodi juramentum vel juramenta, qualitercunque verba in ipsis posita sonare videbuntur, me obligare ad aliquod ratione eorundem posthac dicend. faciend. aut attemptand. quod erit aut esse videbitur contra legem Dei, vel contra illustriss. regem nostrum Angliæ, aut remp. hujus sui regni Angliæ, legesve aut prærogativas ejusdem. Et quod non intendo per hujusmodi juramentum aut juramenta, quovis modo me obligare quominus libere loqui, consulere, et consentire valeam, in omnibus et singulis, reformationem religionis Christianæ, gubernationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, aut prærogativam coronæ ejusdem, reipublicæve commoditatem, quoquomodo concernentibus, et ea ubique exequi et reformare, quæ mihi in Ecclesia Anglicana reformanda videbuntur. Et secundum hanc interpretationem et intellectum hunc et non aliter, neque alio modo, dicta juramenta me præstiturum protestor et profiteor. Protestorque insuper quodcunque juramentum sit, quod meus procurator summo pontifici meo nomine antehac præstitit, quod non erat intentionis aut voluntatis meæ sibi aliquam dare potestatem, cujus vigore aliquod juramentum meo nomine præstare potuerit contrarium aut repugnans juramento per me præstito aut imposterum præstando illustriss. Angliæ regi. Et casu quod aliquid tale contrarium aut repugnans juramentum meo nomine præstitit, Protestor quod illud me inscio, et absque mea authoritate præstitum, pro nullo et invalido esse volo. Quas protestationes in omnibus clausulis et sententiis dictorum juramentorum repetitas et reiteratas volo. A quibus per aliquod meum factum vel dictum quovismodo recedere non intendo, nec recedam. Sed eas mihi semper salvas esse volo." The Romish writers have found in Cranmer's protest a fruitful source of animadversion upon his character. Sanders says of the Archbishop, "Ita se gessit homo vafer, ut duobus dominis etiam contraria præcipientibus per summam simulationem inservire conaretur." Thus, as Cranmer only protested against being understood to bind himself to any thing incompatible with his

of religion, under any government; nor as a subject of any government, except that of the eccle-

duty as a Christian minister, and as an English subject, we are at liberty to infer from this author's words, that the Pope might be likely to command things at variance with such obligations. Cardinal Pole, in the insolent and unfeeling letter before cited, which he wrote to Cranmer while in confinement, thus upbraids the persecuted Archbishop: "Recognosce acta tua, et illud primum, cum tu jam archiepiscopus et regni primas a summo pontifice recens factus, atque in ejus verba juratus, statim contra fidem, contra jusjurandum, ad ejus auctoritatem abrogandam consensisti." It is indeed true that Cranmer *did consent* to what his Romish predecessor, Warham, had done in abrogating the Pope's authority in England. He thought, and he had good reason for so thinking, that his duty to God and his country required this of him. Pole however himself, in order to serve the Pope, laboured to betray his country; and he therefore intimates, consistently enough, that all Romish bishops, when the interest of their King and that of their Pontiff happen to clash, are sworn to imitate his example. Dodd falls into the same dilemma, and adds to it what is undoubtedly *false*. He says, Cranmer "withdrew into a private corner, and there he made a protest *against what he was going to swear* in regard to his obedience to the see of Rome." Dr. Milner (Letters to a Prebendary, 125.) keeps clear of this dilemma, and only charges the Archbishop with breaking his oath so far as he supposes it bound him to oppose "all heretics and schismatics, that is to say, according to the received sense of the words, all persons of his own religious persuasion." Now certainly when Cranmer took the oath to the Pope, he believed in transubstantiation, which doctrine he seems to have considered, in the year 1552, either a heresy, or very nearly akin to one, and which unquestionably is a principal ground of schism in the Catholic Church. Probably, however, Dr. Milner does not consider Romish bishops sworn to oppose those who break the unity of the Catholic Church by the holding of this doctrine; and it would be found no easy task to fasten upon Cranmer any other opinion stamped

siastical state. Nor if the oath required of Romish prelates really do bind the consciences of men to principles at variance with those asserted by Cranmer in his protest, will it be easy to convince candid and intelligent minds, that the Papacy is not a source of unmitigated civil and religious evil. It, however, appears upon the face of it, that the oath of canonical obedience to the Pope, though the imposition of any oath at all is an unwarrantable and insidious piece of arrogance on the part of the Roman see, is conceived in terms of ambiguous import, and is therefore such, possibly, as a conscientious clergyman may safely take; especially if he be careful to have it under-

pretty legibly with the impress of heresy. The only chances, therefore, of proving the Archbishop to have forsworn himself upon the principle advanced by Dr. Milner, is first by making it appear that he bound himself to oppose heretics and schismatics, and then by objecting to him his adherence to transubstantiation during so many years after he took the consecration oath. But respecting this last fact, the friends to Cranmer's memory may fairly excuse him upon the score of early prejudice, and may say of him, as St. Paul did of himself, that he "did it ignorantly." The proof of the former assertion rests with Dr. Milner. Dr. Lingard fairly states the purport of Cranmer's protest; but with great inconsistency he says, "I will only observe that oaths cease to offer any security, if their meaning may be qualified by previous protestations made without the knowledge of the party who is principally interested." In this case it must be supposed, that "the party principally interested," was the Pope: are we then to understand, that Romish bishops are sworn to obey this dignitary, even if he command things at variance with their religious and civil duties? According to the historian's own account of his protest, Cranmer did no more than declare that he would not hold himself so bound.

stood at the time of this compliance, that he never will consent to interpret this evasive formulary in any manner inconsistent with his duty as a Christian and a citizen. In this oath, obedience and fidelity are promised to St. Peter, to the holy, apostolical, Roman Church, and to the Popes entering upon their office in a canonical manner. Now it is obvious that the obligation contracted under each of these heads, is open to dispute. Unless the first article refers to the doctrine of St. Peter upon record, it is a mere nullity. Unless the Roman Church be conscientiously believed to deserve the characteristics of holy and apostolical, the contracting party owes to her no allegiance, since he has agreed to obey her under these characters, and under no other. Unless the Popes shall be canonically elected, no obedience to them is promised. But the reigning Pope, Clement VII. had been elected to that dignity by the help of simony; a fatal defect, which had also vitiated the elevation of many others among his predecessors. The other engagements of this oath are of little importance, except that by which the prelate elect undertakes to support the Papacy; but even this clause appears to be so qualified as to excuse the contracting party from attending to it any farther than is consistent with his duty as a minister of Christ's Church[p].

[p] The following is a copy of Cranmer's oath to the Pope, as transcribed from his register. "Ego Thomas electus Cantuariensis ab hac hora, ut antea, fidelis et obediens ero B. Petro, Sanctæ Apostolicæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et Domino meo D. Cle-

If, however, the oath be thus innocuous, Cranmer's Protest may seem to have been wholly

menti VII. suisque successoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero in consilio aut consensu vel facto, ut vitam perdant vel membrum, seu capiantur mala captione. Consilium vero quod mihi credituri sint per se aut nuncios, ad eorum damnum, me sciente, nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum et regalia S. Petri adjutor eis ero ad defendendum, *salvo meo ordine*, contra omnem hominem. Legatum sedis Apostolicæ in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo; vocatus ad synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditione. Apostolorum limina Romana curia, existente citra Alpes singulis annis, ultra vero montes singulis bienniis, visitabo, aut per me, aut per meum nuntium, nisi apostolica absolvat licentia. Possessiones vero ad mensam mei archiepiscopatus pertinentes non vendam, neque donabo, neque impignerabo, neque de novo infeudabo, neque aliquo modo alienabo, inconsulto Romano pontifice. Sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia." (Strype, Mem. Cranm. Appendix, 684.) The oath extracted from the Pontifical, and printed by Bishop Marsh in his "Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome," (p. 235.) is much longer than the one inserted above, and contains the following clause, "Hæreticos, schismaticos, et rebelles eidem Domino (Papæ sc.) nostro, vel successoribus prædictis pro posse persequar et impugnabo." This passage is thus translated by Bishop Burnet, "Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our holy father, and his successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power." (Hist. Ref. I. 194.) Dr. Milner's version of the clause appears to be, "I shall *oppose* all heretics and schismatics." It, however, does not appear that Cranmer swore to this clause, be its meaning what it may. Upon one of the clauses to which he did swear, Collier makes the following observations: "The most exceptionable clause in the Bishops' engagement to the Pope is their swearing to maintain the *Regalia* or royalties of St. Peter. Now, why may not these words be restrained to a spiritual supremacy? These the Bishops promised to maintain against all men, that is, within the compass of their duty and character.

superfluous. But it should be recollected that this customary engagement implied apparently

And in case the court of Rome should wrest the oath, and enlarge their claim to temporal homage; to give the King security against their consent to any such encroachment, the Bishops in their oath of allegiance renounce all clauses, which may be dragged to such an abuse, or construed to the prejudice of the crown." (Eccl. Hist. II. 68.) The words "within the compass of their duty and character," seem like a paraphrase of that remarkable clause in the oath, "*salvo meo ordine.*" The clause itself, however, is omitted both by Burnet and Collier. It is thus commented upon by Bishop Marsh: "There cannot be a doubt that 'ordine' means 'ordine *monastico.*' In former times when this oath was first used, it seldom happened that a man was consecrated bishop who had not previously belonged to some monastic order, the rights of which he was particularly pledged to defend, and of which the monastic orders were particularly jealous. In taking, therefore, an oath of obedience to the Pope, it was deemed necessary to stipulate, that such obedience should not prejudice the privileges of his own order." (Comp. View, 236.) Against this explanation it may be urged that Cranmer, who was no monk, and who does not appear to have taken the oath in its fullest form, certainly took it with this clause. It may therefore be reasonably concluded that the clerical or episcopal order is the one intended, and that, consequently, the prelate elect bound himself to nothing inconsistent with what he should consider to be his duty as a Christian minister. This construction appears to have been put upon the clause in question by Bishop Bossuet. Speaking of Cranmer's Protest, he thus expresses himself: "Protestation en elle même fort inutile; car qui de nous pretend s'engager par ce serment à rien qui soit contraire à sa conscience, ou au service du Roi, et de son etat? Loin qu'on pretende prejudicier à ces choses, il est même exprimé dans ce serment, qu'on le fait sans prejudice des droits de son ordre, *Salvo ordine meo.*" (Hist. des Variations, ch. 7. p. 286.) That Archbishop Warham did not imagine himself concluded by his oath from acting at variance with the interests of the papacy must

a necessary dependence of the Church of England upon that of Rome, that it contains clauses which weak men may interpret so as to interfere with their civil and religious duties, and which might serve artful hypocrites as a cloak for acts generally deemed indefensible. Cranmer, therefore, with that sincerity by which he was so eminently distinguished, came forward publicly, before he took an ambiguous oath, to declare that he would consent to interpret it and to act upon it only in that sense which was perfectly unexceptionable. He was willing to admit that precedence among European prelates which had been allowed from a very early time to the bishops of the ancient capital; but he would not consent to permit the interference of any consideration with his convictions of what was due from him to his God and his country. Such is the whole purport of his celebrated Protest, and hence, commonly as others have charged him with dissimulation in this instance, a candid inquirer will feel no surprise that even in his moments of bitterest self-abasement, his conduct on consecration appears never to have entered his thoughts. "Ah, my masters," said the Archbishop, shortly before he ascended the fatal pyre, "always since

be inferred from the part that he took in acknowledging the King's supremacy. Upon the whole, therefore, it seems probable that the oath imposed upon Romish bishops is so contrived as not to be incompatible with Cranmer's Protest, and that his avowal of his sentiments as to the mode in which it ought to be interpreted, is a proof of his candour and integrity.

I have lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity, *and never before this time have I dissembled*[q]."

His protestation being made and attested, the Archbishop elect proceeded to the chapel for the purpose of receiving consecration. By the high altar there sat ready to officiate John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, pontifically habited; with whom were associated as assistants John Voisey, Bishop of Exeter, and Henry Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph. These prelates Cranmer approached, holding in his hand the oath about to be tendered to him, together with the protestation as to his intention of interpreting it, which he had already made; and when he was required to swear, he desired it to be fully understood that he would undertake that engagement only with the limitations defined in his Protest. When the pall was delivered to him, and he was again called upon to swear obedience to the Roman see, he for the third time publicly declared that he understood himself to be making no stipulation incompatible with the principles asserted in his Protest; and he desired the prothonotary for the third time to make a regular attestation of what he had done[r]. To this manly and conscientious conduct there must have been many witnesses besides the individuals who attested it by their signatures, and the officiating prelates. Nor, unusual as was all

[q] The dissimulation referred to is that to which the Archbishop yielded for the sake of saving his life. Foxe. 1712.

[r] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 28.

this caution, could any man openly object to what was done, unless he were prepared to admit that the Papacy required such engagements of prelates as rendered them wholly undeserving of public confidence.

After the ceremony of his consecration, the new Archbishop preferred the usual petition for the restitution of the temporalities appended to his see. Upon this occasion an oath was tendered to him, which he could safely take without giving himself the trouble to define previously that mode of interpreting it which he meant to prescribe for his future direction. This oath promises fidelity on the part of him who takes it to the King, and admits that the preferment which gave occasion for its administration is holden only of the crown [*].

[*] The following is this oath. "I, T. C. renounce, and utterly forsake all such clauses, words, sentences, and grants, which I have of the Pope's Holiness in his bulls of the archbishopric of Canterbury that in any manner is, or may be hurtful, or prejudicial to your Highness, your heirs, successors, estate, or dignity royal. Knowledging myself to take and hold the said archbishopric immediately and only of your Highness, and of none other. Most lowly beseeching the same for the restitution of the temporalities of the said archbishopric; promising to be faithful, true, and obedient subject to your said Highness, your heirs, and successors, during my life. So help me God and the holy Evangelists." (Strype, Mem. Cranm. Append. 685.) Such an oath was regularly taken by prelates before the restitution of their temporalities, and is printed with very little variation from Mr. Strype's copy by Bishop Burnet. (Hist. Ref. I. 195.) One discrepancy, however, may perhaps be worthy of remark.—Cranmer admitted that he "*took* and held" his see only of the King. The oath inserted in Burnet's work admits merely that

As, therefore, this oath was universally required of bishops and abbots before they were allowed to take possession of the estates with which their respective appointments were endowed, it is evident either that Cranmer's opinion was correct as to the construction to which the oath imposed by the Pope was fairly liable, or that the whole Romish hierarchy of England was wilfully perjured. There would, however, be extreme injustice in entertaining such an opinion of a body of men, whose services to their country need not even at this distance of time be looked for in vain. There can be no doubt that many worthy and patriotic divines, having considered the two oaths, had come to a conclusion that the same man might take them both with a safe conscience. At the same time the English Legislature cannot satisfactorily be acquitted of having betrayed its trust when it allowed the national clergy to form engagements not only implying a dependence upon a foreign authority, but also calculated, when operating upon feeble or designing minds, to undermine the public honour and individual integrity.

The new Archbishop was in the forty-fourth

the party "*held*" his preferment of the crown, and says nothing about taking it. Cardinal Pole, probably, was ignorant of this variation in the oath taken by Cranmer from that in common use, and therefore, with his characteristic haste and intemperance, he at once in his letter to Cranmer before cited, charged him with being "made" archbishop by the Pope, and then disowning that personage's authority immediately afterwards.

year of his age when he reached the summit of his profession. His rise, indeed, had been unusually rapid. Within four years of his consecration to the primacy, he had been labouring to gain a moderate subsistence in the University of Cambridge, and he could then have entertained little or no serious hope of any distinguished promotion. Nor after an extraordinary incident brought him into personal contact with his sovereign was he immediately advanced to any situation of much emolument and dignity[t]. An archdeaconry, a parochial benefice, and the honour of being numbered among the royal chaplains, appear to have been the utmost extent of his professional appointments, before he was chosen to fill the highest station in the English Church. An elevation so sudden was far from usual even in that age, when, ecclesiastical property being unpillaged, every see afforded a liberal provision for its prelates; and hence translations were less common than they have been in more modern times. Since the primacy of Simon Islip[u] no prelate had been con-

[t] "It doth not appear to me what ecclesiastical places he had before: only that he was the King's chaplain, and archdeacon of Taunton. The Pope also, in honour of his master, had constituted him penitentiary-general of England. He had also a benefice while he lived in the Earl of Wiltshire's family, which was bestowed upon him by the King: a mention whereof I find in one of his letters to the said Earl." Strype, Mem. Cranm. 20.

[u] Who was consecrated to the see of Canterbury in the year 1349. (Godwin, de Præsul. 112.) Since the time of Cranmer, the Archbishops, Pole, Parker, Sancroft, and Tillotson, have attained the primacy without having filled any other see.

secrated to the archbishopric of Canterbury, until Cranmer was once more raised to that important dignity without the intervention of any inferior appointment on the episcopal bench.

At the time when he took possession of his new dignity, the Convocation was sitting, and was engaged in earnest debates upon the King's matrimonial case. Two questions were proposed for the decision of the assembly: first, whether the marriage of one brother with the widow of another, such marriage having been consummated, was not contrary to God's law, and therefore, incapable of deriving validity from a papal dispensation? secondly, whether it was sufficiently proved that Prince Arthur had consummated his marriage with the Queen? Before the discussion of these questions was concluded, the new Archbishop took his seat in the Upper House; and he had the satisfaction to see that the representatives of the ecclesiastical body at length expressed opinions in unison with his own. The first question was carried in the affirmative, by a majority in both Houses. The second subject of discussion, relating chiefly to a matter of fact, was first referred to the civilians, who having reported, with five or six exceptions, that the proofs of the consummation were sufficiently conclusive, that question also was carried affirmatively [x]. In little

[x] Parker, 490. The questions submitted at this time to the Convocation had been debated by that body three years before, but probably they were not brought regularly to an issue until this time. Collier says, "Upon perusing the journal of the

more than a month afterwards the Convocation of the northern province decided these questions in the same manner[y]. Thus was an authentic opinion unfavourable to the claims asserted by the Papacy again obtained from the clergy of England, and the deeply-rooted usurpation of the Roman Bishops received a deadly blow from the very quarter to which it had long been used to look for its most assured support.

Nor did the Parliament which sat concurrently with the Convocation forget to assert the complete independence of England. An act was passed, prohibiting appeals to Rome under the penalty of a præmunire[z]. By this statute, the

Upper House, I find nothing of this kind upon the board till March 26, 1533: and now within ten days the point was settled, and a public instrument drawn up for the King's satisfaction." Eccl. Hist. II. 74.

[y] Rapin, 798.

[z] The preamble to this act contains the following matter, "That the crown of England is imperial, and the nation a complete body in itself, possessing full power to give justice in all cases, spiritual as well as temporal; and that in the spirituality, as there had been at all times, so there were then, men of that sufficiency and integrity, that they might declare and determine all doubts within the kingdom; and that several kings, as Edward I. Edward III. Richard II. and Henry IV. had by several laws preserved the liberties of the realm, both spiritual and temporal, from the annoyance of the see of Rome, and other foreign potentates; yet many inconveniences had arisen by appeals to the see of Rome in causes of matrimony, divorces, and other cases, which are not sufficiently provided against by these laws; by which not only the King and his subjects were put to great charges, but justice was much delayed; the distance of Rome throwing great impediments in the way of transporting evidence

papal authority in England was in a great measure abrogated; since it was upon an admission of the Pontiff's right to pronounce a final judgment in cases of difficulty that his influence in the West of Europe had been established.

The King indeed had now placed himself in a situation which no longer admitted of indefinite negociations with the Pope. In the preceding year, on the 1st of September, Anne Boleyn had been created Marchioness of Pembroke, and had received for the support of this dignity the grant of an annual pension of one thousand pounds, payable out of the revenues attached to the see

and witnesses thither: therefore it was enacted, that all such causes whether relating to the King or any of his subjects should be determined within the kingdom in the several courts to which they belonged, notwithstanding any appeals to Rome, or any bulls or inhibitions from Rome. If any inferior officers should refuse to act according to the sentence of the English courts because of censures from Rome, such officers were to suffer a year's imprisonment, and a fine at the King's will: and if any persons in the King's dominions procured or executed any process or censures from Rome, they were declared liable to the pains imposed by the statute of Provisors." (Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 199.) Heylin thus briefly explains the provisions of the statute passed at this time: "That no person should appeal for any cause out of this realm to the Pope of Rome; but that all appeals should be made by the party grieved from the commissary to the bishop, from the bishop to the archbishop, and from the archbishop to the King, *as had been anciently observed amongst the first kings of the house of Normandy.* It was also enacted in the same, that all causes ecclesiastical in which the King himself was a party, should be determined finally in the Upper House of Convocation, without being bound to make recourse to the court of Rome." Hist. Ref. 176.

of Durham [a]. Soon afterwards she accompanied her royal suitor in a visit that he made to the continent. At once to enjoy the advantage of confidential communication with each other, and to gratify that taste for magnificence by which they were both distinguished, Henry and Francis had arranged the plan of an interview upon the French coast, which took place in the last October, and which rendered Calais and Boulogne alternately the scenes of princely splendour and hilarity. Amidst these festivities the newly-created Marchioness received such attentions from both the monarchs, as plainly indicated her near approach to that deceitful height of greatness, which had so long engrossed her thoughts. After this visit to the land in which she had been educated, it is probable that Anne did not again intermit her residence at court; as it was commonly reported, that the King married her within a few days of his return to England [b]. The truth however is, that Henry did not venture upon this decisive step until about the 25th of the following January [c]; when Dr. Rowland Lee, afterwards Bishop

[a] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 261.

[b] The two kings took leave of each other on the 30th of October. Herbert, 160.

[c] Letter from Archbishop Cranmer to Mr. Hawkins, ambassador at the Emperor's court. Ellis's Letters illustrative of English History. Lond. 1824. II. 39. It has been said, that Anne Boleyn was married on the 14th of November, 1532, and that Cranmer officiated, or at all events, that he was present at the solemnity. But, as we learn from the Archbishop's own letter, each of these accounts is false. He was not even ap-

of Lichfield and Coventry, privately united him to the object of his affections. Soon afterwards it

prised of the marriage until after several days beyond the time of its actual occurrence. He says, in the letter before cited: "It hath been reported throughout a great part of the realm, that I married her, which was plainly false; for I myself knew not thereof a fortnight after it was done. And many other things be also reported of me, which be mere lies and tales." Dr. Lingard is completely in the secret as to the King and Anne Boleyn. He informs us, "Five years had now rolled away since Henry had first solicited a divorce, three since he had first cohabited with Anne Boleyn, and still he appeared to have made but little progress towards the attainment of his object. The reader, who is acquainted with the impetuosity of his character, will perhaps admire his patience under so many delays and miscarriages; he may discover its true cause in the infecundity of Anne, which had hitherto disappointed the King's most anxious wish to provide for the succession to the throne." We are afterwards told that Dr. Lee received orders to celebrate mass in a garret before day-light one morning; that he found assembled in the said garret, Henry, Anne, and some witnesses; that finding himself called upon to marry the King, he demurred; but being told that his Majesty had a papal dispensation in his closet, he at last went through the service, and that the whole party retired from their cock-loft before the sun rose. The Romish legend of Anne Boleyn up to the time of her marriage, may therefore be thus abridged. Henry, when a boy of fifteen, and possessed of about as much political power as the generality of boys, sent a gentleman of distinction abroad upon an embassy, in order that he might carry on an amour with that gentleman's wife: by the time when the youthful adulterer became sixteen, the lady presented him with a daughter, who, though disfigured by personal blemishes, discovered at an early age so much humour, and such a good taste for dress, that her father fell in love with her when she was nineteen at the farthest; and determined upon repudiating a princess solely upon her account; that her morals had hitherto been most licentious; but that, for

appeared that Anne was pregnant; and, in consequence, the King found himself obliged to seek for an immediate release from his former engagement, both out of regard to his wife's character, and to the legitimacy of his expected issue. Accordingly, in order to prepare the nation for the final adjustment of his protracted suit, he not only procured the passing of those decrees of Convocation which have been lately mentioned, but also he issued a proclamation, by which it was enjoined, that Catharine should be addressed in future only as Princess Dowager of Wales [d]. Nor when that unhappy lady requested permission to celebrate Maundy Thursday, an occasion on which a parade of ostentatious humility has long been usual in both the Greek and Latin Churches, could she obtain the desired licence except upon condition of appearing upon that day not as Queen, but as had been customary with the Countess of Richmond, the King's grandmother. This ungracious message was accompanied by an intimation, that if Catharine should persist in keeping her Maundy in a style suitable to the rank which she had been of late years used to fill, the

the purpose of mounting a throne, she continued, during two years, inflexibly chaste; that then, for no imaginable purpose, she relapsed into her former habits of infamy; and that, after three years spent in this manner, proving pregnant, she was married in a garret, before day-light one winter's morning, to her said father, who told an infamous falsehood in order to persuade a clergyman to perform the ceremony.

[d] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 177.

penalties of high treason would be incurred by herself, by those who should lend her assistance, and even by the poor people who should accept her bounty[c].

Soon after the solemnization of his marriage, Henry sent information of it to the King of France, by George Boleyn, Viscount Rochford, the new Queen's brother. It was not, however, for some time publicly announced; probably un-

[c] Letter from Sir William Fitzwilliam, treasurer of the household, to Secretary Cromwell. Ellis, II. 25. The day before Good Friday was called Shere, or Maundy Thursday. It received the former designation, "for that in old fathers' days the people would that day shear their heads, and clip their beards, and poll their heads, and so make them honest against Easter-day." (Homily cited in Brand's Popular Antiquities. Lond. 1813. I. 124.) The latter designation is most probably derived either from the Saxon *mand*, a basket; or from the French *manne*, signifying the same thing; and this day acquired a name from one of these sources, because upon it individuals of opulence, like the ancient Roman patricians, were used to present a *sportula*, or small basket full of necessaries, to the poor. Besides receiving this alms, the persons relieved had their feet washed by their benefactors, in imitation of a similar act performed by our Saviour to his apostles. With reference to this particular act, the number of poor persons receiving these attentions was sometimes *twelve;* more usually, however, it was either the same as the number of years which the benefactor had lived; or sometimes, if a sovereign, the number of years that he had reigned. The formalities of this day were anciently observed with great solemnity in the English court; nor are they, at least so far as the relief goes, together with some significant ceremonies, even now extinct. Since James II. however, no King of England has officiated in person at his Maundy. Ellis, Todd, Menage.

der the hope that it might even yet be possible to obtain for it the papal sanction. The King had now adopted the plan formerly suggested by Clement[f]; and he therefore might reasonably conclude, that the Pontiff, according to the politic usage of his see, would make a merit of authorising an act which he had been unable to prevent[g]. An excellent opportunity of soliciting the pontifical approbation appeared likely soon to come within Henry's reach, by means of an interview between Francis and Clement, which was expected to take place in the course of a short time. Fully sensible of the advantage reaped by the Emperor from his intimate connexion with the Roman see, the King of France had affianced his second son, the Duke of Orleans, to the Pope's niece, Catharine de' Medici. The prospect of this match, by which a near relative of his own was suddenly to overleap the barriers of aristocratic prejudice, and to be transplanted from a family recently raised to distinction by means of successful commerce, into one of the most ancient and important of royal houses, was highly gratifying to Clement. Hence he agreed to solemnize these nuptials in person at Marseilles, and Francis engaged to meet him there. It was intended at first that this interview should not be delayed beyond the earlier part of the year; and,

[f] See p. 198.

[g] Of this the practice adopted by the Popes of appointing to sees individuals nominated by their respective sovereigns, is a well known example.

therefore, Henry seems to have wished that his marriage with Anne should be submitted to the Pope's approval during that prelate's intercourse personally with Francis. Accordingly, he sent a message to the French monarch, desiring that a confidential agent should be despatched to London for the purpose of receiving some communications from him of a private nature. William du Bellay, in consequence, shortly after made his appearance at the English court. Francis was probably not a little pleased on finding an opening thus afforded to him for greeting the Pope, on his arrival at Marseilles, by the prospect of a reconciliation with England. He therefore instructed Bellay to press upon Henry the advantage likely to attend his suit, if he himself, or at all events, if some individual high in his confidence, should join the French court on the Pontiff's arrival. The latter suggestion appeared the more eligible, and the Duke of Norfolk was despatched to the continent, with instructions to attend Francis on his progress to the southward [h]. But Bellay could gain from the King no farther concession to the Papacy. Henry indeed engaged to abstain until May from resorting to any domestic authority for the confirmation of his marriage; but he added, that if the Bishop of Rome, for thus he designated Clement, did not then give him satisfaction, he was determined to shake off that prelate's yoke, and to annul his engagement with Catharine by

[h] Herbert, 168.

means of proceedings instituted before the Archbishop of Canterbury. To convince the French ambassador that he was in earnest, he had informed him that he had even written a treatise upon the papal encroachments [i]; which, however, he said, it was not his intention to publish unless the Bishop should drive him still farther to expose the character of the Roman see.

Contrary to the general expectation, the interview between the King of France and the Pope was deferred until the autumn. This delay precipitated the acknowledgment of Henry's secret marriage. It could not indeed be long concealed on account of Anne's situation; and hence perhaps it was, that so early as on the eve of Easter day [k], she received openly at court the honours appropriated to royalty [l]. On the preceding day Archbishop Cranmer addressed, from Lambeth, a letter to the King, conceived in a strain of great piety, modesty, and caution; in which, after representing the feverish excitement caused in the public mind by the unsettled state of the royal matrimonial case, the prevailing apprehensions of a disputed succession, and the obloquy heaped incessantly upon the clergy for their supineness

[i] "It was a large and ample treatise of the tyranny and usurpation of the Bishop of Rome; and bore this title, *De Potestate Christianorum Regum in suis ecclesiis, contra Pontificis tyrannidem et horribilem impietatem.*" Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 230.

[k] Easter fell this year on the 13th of April. Not. Hist. 91.

[l] Holinshed says, "She went openly in her closet as Queen on Easter even."

in not devising a remedy against evils so serious, he, as the principal ecclesiastic of the national Church, respectfully intreated permission to take such measures as the circumstances should appear to require[m].

In consequence of this application, the Archbishop received instructions, under the royal sign manual, to proceed definitively in the adjudication of the King's case[n]. The afflicted Catharine was then residing at Ampthill, in Bedfordshire, in one of the manorial residences belonging to the crown[o]. Within six miles of that place stands Dunstable, then the seat of an opulent priory, and therefore capable of affording accommodation to an influx of distinguished strangers. To Dunstable, accordingly, as being a place offering facilities for the holding of their court, and as being so near Ampthill, that Catharine could attend to the business there without inconvenience, those who were finally to decide upon this important case repaired, on the 8th of May, attended by several civilians and lawyers. The principal judge was Cranmer, who found himself obliged to undertake this unenviable office, as being the archbishop of the province in which the alleged irregularity had occurred. With the primate was joined, as assistant, Longland, Bishop of Lincoln:

[m] Letter from Archbishop Cranmer to the King, printed from the original in the State-Paper office, by Mr. Todd, in his Introduction to the Catholick Doctrine, xlvi.

[n] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 177.

[o] Ibid.

Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was also commissioned to attend, but not in a judicial character. That artful prelate gave the finishing stroke to his exertions in promoting the divorce, as Henry's counsel[p]; the situation which he had been used to fill in this affair, and which, it should be recollected in justice to his memory, did not necessarily commit him as to an opinion upon the case. All the preliminary arrangements being complete, the consistorial court was opened on the 10th of May; a day upon which the King and the Lady Catharine, for she was not styled Queen, were cited to appear before the commissioners. Henry sent his proxy, but the unfortunate princess took no notice whatever of the proceedings. Evidence as to the serving of the citation upon her being then tendered, that fact was established; and after pronouncing her contumacious, the court proceeded to business. This consisted in a diligent examination of all the various documents which had been brought from time to time to bear upon the case, not omitting the judgments of universities, and of individuals, nor the decisions of the two English convocations [q].

At the opening of the court on each day, Catharine was called [r], but she persisted in taking no notice of its proceedings. This silence on her part afforded to the commissioners, voluminous

[p] Cranmer to Hawkins. Ellis, II. 35.

[q] Sentence of divorce. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Records, I. 175.

[r] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 177.

as was the evidence submitted to them, an opportunity of conducting their business with a celerity very important under the peculiar circumstances of the case. It was desirable to crown the new Queen before the birth of her expected infant; and it was obvious that, if before that time, she was to sustain an arduous part in a public ceremony, delay might prove extremely embarrassing. Hence Cranmer, towards the termination of the evidence, appears to have become uneasy, lest some vexatious opposition should unexpectedly protract the business of the court. Accordingly, in a letter to Cromwell, informing him of the time when a decision upon the case might be reasonably expected, the Archbishop intreated him to abstain from publicly mentioning this day, for fear that Catharine or her friends should be impelled by the news into throwing some impediment in the way of that sentence, which it had become so desirable to pass without farther loss of time[1]. However, no difficulty arose on Catharine's part; and therefore, on the 23d of May, Henry's marriage was pronounced null and void from the beginning, as being contrary to God's law, and consequently such as can derive validity from no human authority whatever. Five days after this, the Archbishop pronounced a judgment at Lambeth, which, without assigning any reason, confirmed the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn. On Whit Sunday, June the 1st, he crowned the

[1] An extract from this letter may be seen in Heylin, 177.

new Queen[t]; and directions were issued, that these changes in the English court should immediately be signified to foreign powers.

After the proceedings at Dunstable were concluded, William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, was commissioned to wait upon the divorced Queen, and to deliver into her hands a formal report of what had been done. In reading this, whenever her eye rested upon a passage in which she was designated as Princess Dowager of Wales, she immediately dashed a pen through the obnoxious title. Nor in spite of the mixture of menace and persuasion addressed to her by Mountjoy, would she consent to discontinue the style and title of Queen. When Henry's pleasure in this respect was first communicated to her, she replied, with her accustomed dignity and firmness: "I will not damn my soul, and submit to such an infamy. I am his Highness's lawful wife, and will never allow myself to be called by any other name, be the consequences of my refusal what they may: at all events, not until the Pope shall have determined that my right to be so considered is of no validity[u]." To shake this resolution, all arguments proved unavailing: not even when it was represented to her, that opposition to the King's commands would be likely to injure the Lady Mary, would she recede a single step from the determination that she had avowed. No servant was suffered in her presence unless he would ad-

[t] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 207.

[u] Ibid. 209.

dress her by the title, and use the ceremonial assigned to the Queens of England. This pertinacity, though natural and excusable, irritated the King. He so far departed from his wonted nobleness of mind, as to harass the repudiated princess by a second message in July, of which the Duke of Suffolk was the bearer. Catharine was then staying at Buckden, in a seat appended to the bishopric of Lincoln; and her inflexibility was found to be no wise impaired. Upon this occasion an oath was tendered to the members of her establishment, binding them to desist from waiting upon her as Queen. Her chaplains, however, Abel and Barker, having decided that those who had already sworn to serve their mistress as Queen, could not conscientiously treat her in any other manner, the proffered oath was generally refused in the household. At last, apprehensions of the King's displeasure overcame the scruples of some among Catharine's people, and they swore as it was required of them. These individuals, however, were excluded from their lady's presence as traitors to her cause. All others who approached her either disregarded or evaded the orders of the court; and she persisted to the last in asserting her right to receive from her attendants the homage to which she had been accustomed while the undisputed sharer of the English throne [x].

To the Emperor, Henry judged it expedient

[x] Heylin, Hist. Ref. 178.

that early and respectful notice should be sent of what had lately happened in England. Accordingly, the English ambassador was ordered to inform that monarch of the sentence pronounced in Catharine's case, and to justify it upon the grounds of its agreement with the expressed opinions of most competent judges; of the uneasiness prevailing in England; and of the Pope's endless delays, calumnious publications[y], and unfounded pretensions[z]. In conclusion, his impe-

[y] "The Pope, not content with his former vexations, cited him (Henry) to appear at Rome, and published *divers slanderous breves against him.*" (Speech of the English ambassador to the Emperor. Herbert, 165.) It may be recollected that Clement had charged the King with cohabiting with Anne Boleyn long before this. Dr. Lingard has told his readers the same thing upon Clement's authority.

[z] The ambassador, after mentioning the citation of his master to Rome, thus continued: "Though a general council hath long since determined that all matters should be ended where they began." (Herbert, 166.) The council referred to is the first of Constantinople, which assembled in that city in 381. The second canon passed by this assembly contains, according to Du Pin, the following provision: "Que les évêques ne sortiront point de leur païs pour se mêler des affaires des eglises d'un autre diocese." (Hist. de l'Egl. en abr. II. 227.) Du Pin asks, how can this council be called "general," composed, as it was, of oriental bishops only? And he says, that the Popes, though they have received the symbol agreed upon at this time, have rejected the canons, because these have assigned to the Bishop of Constantinople a rank immediately after that of his Roman brother. If, however, the absence of representatives from a great part of Christendom be a valid objection against the decrees of a council, what is to become of the second Nicene, and of the Trentine councils; and without the doings of these two remarkable assemblages, what is to become of Popery?

rial Majesty was requested to continue his friendly relations towards the King of England; and it was intimated to him, that an attempt would still be made to obtain the sanction of the Roman see for the marriage which that prince had recently contracted. Charles, after hearing these representations with contemptuous coolness, briefly replied, "I well know how matters passed, and will advise with my council."

In Rome the news of what Cranmer had done at Dunstable, excited a high degree of indignation. The general opinion of the cardinals, especially of those in the Emperor's interest, was, that Clement ought to level at once the whole artillery of the Vatican against individuals, who, setting the Papacy at defiance, had presumed to act as if England were an independent kingdom, and her ecclesiastical affairs were to be directed according to an ancient canon of the Catholic Church, instead of according to the views of certain interested Italians. His Holiness himself was indeed sufficiently angry, and particularly so on account of the book which Henry had written against the encroachments of the Roman see[a]. But as England and France were then on friendly terms with each other, the wary Pontiff did not choose hastily to mar the pleasure which he anticipated at his niece's wedding, by adopting, when upon the eve of forming a connexion so flattering to the house of Medici, measures that must occasion

[a] Herbert, 168.

embarrassment and concern to the royal bridegroom's father. Probably also he cherished the hope, that in his personal conferences with the King of France, some plan might be devised for healing the breach with England. He, therefore, confined his censures of Henry's late proceedings to a declaration, that the sentence pronounced by Cranmer was a nullity [b], and that the King would become liable to an excommunication unless he should restore all matters to their former state by the end of the following September [c].

Intelligence of this papal manifesto reached the Duke of Norfolk at the court of France, where he was residing for the purpose of being in readiness to accompany the monarch to Marseilles, should it be found impossible to dissuade him from proceeding thither. This, however, Norfolk was instructed to attempt, and to represent the advantages which would accrue to the French nation, if the supreme direction of its ecclesiastical affairs were entrusted to a native patriarch. But Francis evinced very little disposition to adopt the

[b] Most probably under the pretence that the Pope is supreme ordinary of the Christian Church, and that therefore no inferior prelate is competent to decide upon any question pending in the papal courts. These positions are thus maintained in the Harleian MS. History of the Reformation: "The Pope is the supreme ordinary over all ordinaries, as from whom all other ordinaries have their spiritual jurisdiction. The Pope having admitted the Queen's appeal, hath thereby closed the hands of Cranmer, or any other spiritual judge whatever."

[c] Because then the summer vacation would be at its close, and therefore the suit might begin *de novo*.

suggestions of his English ally; and therefore, when the Duke heard of what had been done at Rome, he considered that reasonable hopes of an advantageous result from his embassy were pretty much at an end: since it was alike evident that the Pope was highly offended with his master, and that the King of France was bent upon identifying Clement's interest with his own. Norfolk, in consequence, wrote home for fresh instructions, and was immediately recalled. Francis was grieved to remark this symptom of alienation on Henry's part, and he intreated him not to abandon the plan of sending some agent to Marseilles; assuring him that he would resent any insult offered by the Pope to such a person, not less than if it were offered to himself. These instances prevailed; and Bishop Gardiner, Sir John Wallop, Sir Francis Bryan, and Dr. Edmund Boner, were despatched into France for the purpose of being present at the intended interview [d].

The firm and patriotic manner in which the King had recently resisted the usurpations of Papal Rome, received, according to the fatal usage of his reign, a mournful, though an unavailing, counterbalance, in a bloody offering to Romish prejudices, selected from among the zealous friends of Scriptural Christianity. A young man of distinguished talents, eminent learning, and exemplary moderation, was the principal victim now dragged forward to soothe the irritated feelings

[d] Herbert, 169.

of Clement's baffled partizans. John Frith was born at Sevenoaks, in Kent, where his father kept an inn. His fine abilities received their academic culture at Cambridge; and such was his reputation there, that he was among the chosen band of scholars whom Cardinal Wolsey gladly transferred from the sister university to his recently-founded college at Oxford. In his new residence Frith became acquainted with Tyndale[e]; and from him he learned how greatly differed the popular religion, founded upon the vain traditions of interested pretenders to superior holiness, miraculous powers, and infallibility; from that pure and rational faith, which a kind Providence has placed upon record for the comfort and instruction of mankind. Anxious to disseminate the knowledge which cheered and invigorated their own minds, the two pious friends often conferred upon the most efficient means for bestowing so great a benefit upon their hood-winked countrymen. Both agreed, that were the hallowed light of Scripture generally diffused throughout the land, it would soon be found impossible to withstand the call for Reformation; and Tyndale sedulously devoted himself to the honourable task of rendering accessible to Englishmen the recorded truths of revelation[f]. Meanwhile his loved associate Frith became obnoxious to his superiors; and finding himself involved in serious troubles at Oxford, on account of his opinions, he fled that place, and

[e] Wood's Athenæ. [f] Foxe, 982.

took refuge upon the continent in the year 1528. At the end of two years he returned, but in a state of such complete destitution, that having occasion to pass through Reading, his squalid appearance armed the local authorities against him, and he was placed in the stocks as a vagabond. While in this wretched situation, being friendless and starving, he begged that the school-master of the town might be sent for; and, on that individual's arrival, he bewailed his miserable condition in such a flood of Latin eloquence, that the worthy preceptor hastened to the magistrates, and after assuring them that the man whom they had treated with so much indignity, was no vagrant impostor, the unhappy scholar was restored to liberty. Frith then went to London, where he laboured with unceasing activity to dispel the mists of religious ignorance [a]. Among his labours was a controversy with Sir Thomas More, who undertook to defend purgatory, that Pagan conceit [b] so shrewdly patronised by Romish ecclesiastics,

[a] Wood's Athenæ.

[b] "Quin et, supremo cum lumine vita reliquit,
Non tamen omne malum miseris, nec funditus omnes
Corporeæ excedunt pestes; penitusque necesse est
Multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris.
Ergo exercentur pœnis, veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendunt. Aliæ panduntur inanes
Suspensæ ad ventos; aliis sub gurgite vasto
Infectum eluitur *scelus, aut exuritur igni;*
Quisque suos, patimur, manes; exinde per amplum
Mittimur Elysium."

Virg. Æn. VI. 735.

against the attacks of Simon Fish, in whose rather libellous publication[1] are several strokes of humour tending to cast discredit upon the gainful doctrines propounded by papal infallibility respecting the middle state. The Chancellor's answer to Fish's tract drew from Frith a reply. Upon another occasion also More was engaged in controversy with this learned Protestant. Frith once reasoning with a friend against transubstantiation, was requested by him to commit his arguments to paper. He did so, and the writing coming into the hands of Sir Thomas More, that zealous Papist undertook its refutation. At length the persevering hostility of Frith to those doctrines which he could not find in Scripture occasioned his apprehension. He was charged with a disbelief in purgatory and transubstantiation,

[1] Entitled the "Supplication of Beggars." This piece, which appears to have been published about the year 1528, purports to be an address to the King from the impotent mendicants, complaining that they were starved by means of the friars, who, though able to work, devoted their time to the collection of those alms which charitable people were disposed to give, and which belonged in justice to such indigent unfortunates as could not earn a living by labour. Fish, however, has not confined himself to a satire upon the friars, but has taken the opportunity to lash the clergy generally. Foxe has printed this tract in his Acts and Monuments, p 925. It was brought to the King's notice by Anne Boleyn, and Henry appears to have been tolerably well pleased with it; for he afforded his protection to its author. Sir Thomas More's answer to this tract was entitled, "The Supplication of the poor silly Souls puling out of Purgatory." Foxe, 927.

the grand sources of papal wealth and power[k]. While in the Tower upon this charge, he was examined by the King's orders before the Archbishop of Canterbury, Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire, the Bishops Stokesley of London, and Gardiner of Winchester, and Audley, the Chancellor. Transubstantiation appears to have been the principal point upon which the unfortunate prisoner was interrogated before these commissioners. The belief of this dogma he disclaimed, and maintained that it was not obligatory upon Christians[l]; at the same time he did not condemn those who held the Roman opinion as to the corporeal presence: only he reprobated the notions in vogue respecting propitiatory masses, and worshipping the sacramental elements. As he remained stedfast to his opinions, the examiners appointed by the King were under the necessity of abandoning him to the judgment of his ordinary, the Bishop of London. Archbishop Cranmer seems to have viewed this miserable alternative with concern, as he afterwards sent for him three or four times in the hope of shaking his determination. This, however, was found to be impracticable, and Stokesley, his ordinary, sentenced him to the stake. With him suffered, on the 4th of July, in Smithfield, a young artizan named Andrew Hewit, who refusing his

[k] Frith to his Friends. Foxe, 943.

[l] Cranmer to Hawkins. Ellis, II. 40.

assent to transubstantiation, and saying, that he believed as John Frith did, was barbarously consumed in the same fire[m].

On the 13th of September[n], the Queen gave birth to a daughter at the royal palace of Greenwich. On this event *Te Deum* was sung in the churches; and it cannot be doubted that the King felt the most lively satisfaction, since he was now no longer dependent for an heir upon his former marriage. The royal infant may be considered as the child of the Reformation, to the principles of which she owed her birth, and her claim of legitimacy[o]. Nor was her subsequent

[m] When Hewit was examined before the Bishops Stokesley, Gardiner, and Longland, he was asked why he did not believe in transubstantiation? He answered, "Because Christ commanded me not to give credit rashly to all men, which say, Lo, here is Christ, or there, for many false prophets shall rise up, saith the Lord." Foxe, 945.

[n] Queen Elizabeth's birth is generally placed on the 7th of September; but from a letter addressed by Cranmer to Hawkins, it appears that she was born on the 13th and 14th of that month. Probably she was born about midnight on the 13th. Burnet, Hist. Ref. Note I. 211.

[o] Her legitimacy, accordingly, was commonly denied by the Romanists. "The crown was for forty-four years together intruded upon by a Princess, though in many respects of brave and royal parts, yet altogether incapable of the crown in regard of the indelible defects of her birth; whereupon arose all the miseries, calamities, anguishes, vexations, troubles, imprisonments, and martyrdoms, not only of Queen Mary of Scotland, (for no other cause but only for that the said Queen Mary was *de jure* Queen of England, whereas Queen Elizabeth was *de facto* only,) but also upon many of her Catholic friends, as well in Scotland as in England." (MS. Hist. Ref. Bibl. Harl.) This passage

life unworthy of the mighty cause with which her name is inseparably connected. Discreet and patient under adversity, able, vigilant, and intrepid upon the throne, Queen Elizabeth proved admirably fitted to establish and extend those principles of religious and intellectual independence upon which are founded all the moral weight, and a large proportion of the physical resources of England. The impression made by her illustrious career upon the popular mind is, indeed, not even yet effaced. Distant as is her reign, its fame still lingers among the traditions of the English nation.

Within a few days after the birth of the Princess, she was baptized with uncommon splendour. The great officers of state, the nobility, the lord mayor, aldermen, and forty wealthy citizens of London, were invited to Greenwich upon this occasion. The walls of the palace were decorated with arras hangings, and every circumstance announced to the spectators that their sovereign ranked the recent birth among the most auspicious incidents of his life. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duchess Dowager of Norfolk, and the Marchioness Dowager of Dorset, stood

explains a great part of what Romanists mean when they talk of the persecutions endured by their sect under Queen Elizabeth. They denied her right to the throne, and were incessantly conspiring to place Mary, Queen of Scots, in her room. Some of those who were detected in these treasonable practices were brought to justice, and are now reckoned among the Popish martyrs.

sponsors at the font to the royal infant. She was named Elizabeth, in commemoration of her grandmother, Elizabeth of York, from whom her father derived his only valid hereditary claim to the throne. The baptism being concluded, the confirmation of the child followed immediately; and now the Archbishop officiated, the Marchioness of Exeter stood godmother. When these solemnities had been duly performed, the visitors retired into the palace, where a magnificent banquet was in readiness to regale them[p].

In October Clement landed at Marseilles. The King of France had previously arrived in that place, but he did not receive the distinguished stranger on the beach, having previously left the town, because he wished his Holiness to consider, that during his residence there, he must act as if still within his own dominions. The Pontiff was carried to his lodgings in a chair of state borne on two men's shoulders. Before him was led, as usual, a white hackney carrying the consecrated wafer. A splendid train of cardinals, gentlemen, and ladies followed[q], and Marseilles presented an animated scene, in which pageantry and super-

[p] The following particulars recorded by Hall, respecting this christening, are curious. "The way from the water's edge to the palace was strewed with green rushes." About the font, which was silver, "divers gentlemen with aprons, and towels about their necks, gave attendance, that no filth should come into it." Before some of the company departed, "they were had to the cellar to drink, and so went to their barges."

[q] Herbert, 170.

stition were ingeniously blended with each other. The marriage between the youthful pair was solemnized by the Pope in person[r], and after the festivities consequent upon that event had found some cessation, the King of France entered upon the discussion of Henry's affairs. The time prescribed by the papal manifesto for that monarch's submission had already expired without producing the desired result, yet Clement had proceeded to no ulterior measures. By Francis he was now earnestly solicited to ratify what had been done in England; and he, probably, was not indisposed towards this compliance, only he thought it necessary to keep up the appearance of guarding the pretensions of his see inviolate. He therefore merely professed in public that Henry's case must be submitted to the proper courts in Rome. At last Boner, one of the English agents, finding it impossible to obtain from Clement the answer desired by his master, produced the royal appeal to the next general council[s]. This unwelcome document, though submitted to the Pope in a respectful manner, instead

[r] "The Duke of Orleans was then but fourteen years and nine months old, being born on the last of March, 1518, and yet was believed to have consummated his marriage the very first night after: so the Pope's historians tell us with much triumph; though they represented that improbable, if not impossible, in Prince Arthur, who was nine months elder when he died." Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 212.

[s] "As I find by an original of his to our King." Boner obtained this audience of the Pope on the 7th of November. Herbert, 170.

of intimidating that prelate, filled him with anger and disgust. He said that the King's appeal was contrary to the maxims of papal jurisprudence; that it belonged to himself to convoke councils, not to temporal princes: and he did not again take any public notice of Henry, except merely so far as to press upon the King of France the propriety of urging his English ally to resume his former habits of obedience to the papal see[t]. Cranmer also, by the advice of the King in council, prepared an appeal from the Pope to a general council; but probably this document was never presented, as Clement had quitted Marseilles before the date of the letter to Boner by which it was accompanied[u].

Resolute as was Henry's temper, it appears that he was not wholly free from anxiety respecting the result of the conferences at Marseilles. The English nation had been taught during several ages that the Papacy was of divine origin, and it could not be foreseen in what manner the popular mind would be affected, if an authority so long revered should be utterly set at nought and trampled under foot by the government. In the hope, therefore, of rendering palatable to his subjects this change in the national policy, should it become necessary, a manifesto was prepared, reciting the wrongs of the King, the usurpations of

[t] Herbert, 170.

[u] This is dated November 27. It is printed by Strype. (Mem. Cranm. 31.) Clement left Marseilles on the 12th of November. Herbert, 170.

the Roman see, and the disqualifications of the reigning Pope. In this paper were urged the obligations of subjects to their native princes, in consideration of the labours and anxieties undergone by the latter for the sake of securing the peace and prosperity of the former; the expence and vexation endured by the King with a view to bring his great cause to a satisfactory issue; the opinions of the learned in his favour; and that, notwithstanding, the affair was "most wrongfully judged by the great idol, and most cruel enemy to Christ's law and his religion, which calleth himself Pope." After this exordium, it was maintained that a general council is superior to any usurped jurisdiction, as that of the Roman see, and to any lawful authority, as that of Kings, in matters of religious faith and ecclesiastical discipline; that matters of controversy, according to the decision of several general councils, are to be decided in the countries where they originate without the intervention of foreigners; that it is proposed to act upon this principle in England for the future; that the King appeals from the Pope's sentence to the next general council; that in holy Scripture, no authority is assigned to the Bishop of Rome, nor to any other bishop, out of his own province; that it is necessary to warn people against being "deceived in honouring him as an idol, which is but a man usurping God's power and authority; and a man neither in life, learning, nor conversation, like Christ's minister or disciple; yea a man also, though the see apostolic

were never of so high authority, yet most unworthy and unlawful, by their own decrees and laws to occupy and enjoy that usurped place. For first he is both a bastard, and also come into that dignity by simony[x]." .

It was, indeed, urgently necessary to lay before the people correct information respecting the rights of independent states, and the character of the Papacy; for the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn had occasioned a violent ferment, of which the Popish agitators were diligently taking advantage. Among the clergy was evinced a disposition to support the Papal cause by mixing it up with that of the repudiated Queen[y], whose case excited a high degree of public commiseration. Not only did the parochial ministers exert themselves in many cases thus to foment the religious and political uneasiness of their parishioners, but also clergymen possessed of more than ordinary talents for popular eloquence travelled about from place to place, and vehemently declaimed against the principal Reformers by name, against all inroads upon the Papal usurpations, and against such attempts as had been recently made to wean the vulgar from their inveterate superstitions[z]. To connive at such an injurious perversion of the preacher's office would have been a culpable negligence on the part of the

[x] Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 226. It does not appear whether this paper was actually published.

[y] See Ellis's Letters, II. 42.

[z] Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 244.

ruling powers. Those who held the chief direction of affairs either in Church or State, were evidently bound by a due regard to the best interests of society, and to their own tranquillity, to prevent the pulpit from being rendered the organ of sedition, and the nurse of a degrading fanaticism. The Archbishop of Canterbury, accordingly, issued an order to his clergy forbidding all preaching for a time; and he recommended by letter the suffragans of his province to promulge a similar inhibition throughout their respective dioceses[a]. Nor, perhaps, could any remedy be devised to meet the existing emergency more inoffensive and effectual, than temporarily to suspend the exercise of that privilege, by which each party contrived to exasperate the angry passions of its opponents.

Of the abuses to which the pulpit had been recently prostituted, a most flagrant instance had occurred during the last summer in the King's immediate presence. Henry being at Greenwich, as he usually was in the fine season, Peto, an Observant friar, was appointed to preach before him. This insolent fanatic chose for the subject of his sermon the history of Ahab and Jezebel, to which worthless characters he found parallels in the King and Queen. His own case the preacher modestly compared to that of the prophet Micaiah, and accordingly, as if commissioned by the Deity himself, he thus gave vent to his seditious

[a] "As I have it from an old journal made by a monk of St. Augustine's, Canterbury." Strype, Mem. Cranm. 30.

arrogance: "I know that I shall eat the bread of affliction, and drink the water of sorrow; yet because our Lord hath put it in my mouth I must speak it. There are many preachers, yea, too many, which preach and persuade thee otherwise, feeding thy folly and frail affections upon hope of their own worldly promotion; and by that means they betray thy soul, thy honour, and thy posterity, to obtain fat benefices, to become rich abbots, to get episcopal jurisdiction, and other ecclesiastical dignities. These, I say, are the four hundred prophets, who, in the spirit of lying, seek to deceive thee; but take good heed, lest thou, being seduced, find Ahab's punishment, which was to have his blood licked by dogs." Henry sat with exemplary patience listening to this unseemly display of perverted talent, which was the more disagreeable, because it appears not improbable that the preacher's character carried considerable weight with it[b].

On the following Sunday Dr. Curwen[c] preached before the King, and imitated the violence of the self-called Micaiah, without, from any thing that appears, possessing his talents. He called him, "dog, slanderer, rebel, traitor, base beggarly friar." Peto was absent when this attack was made upon his character; but Elstow, a brother

[b] Stow, from whose work this account is taken, says of Peto, that he was "a simple man, yet very devout."

[c] Dr. Curwen was, in the year 1541, made Dean of Hereford, and in the year 1555, Archbishop of Dublin. From this see, in 1567, he was translated to that of Oxford. Le Neve, 114.

in his house, sat in the rood-loft, and being at length unable to bear any longer the preacher's vituperation of his associate, thus broke forth, "Good Sir, you know that Father Peto, as he was commanded, is now gone to a provincial council holden at Canterbury, and not fled for fear of you, for to-morrow he will return again: in the mean time I am here as another Micaiah, and will lay down my life to prove all those things true which he hath proved out of holy Scripture: and to this combat I challenge thee before God and all equal judges; even unto thee, Curwen, I say, which art one of the four hundred prophets into whom the spirit of lying is entered, and seekest by adultery to establish succession, betraying the King into endless perdition, more for thy own vain glory and hope of promotion, than for the discharge of thy clogged conscience, and the King's salvation." While the exasperated friar uttered these words he betrayed all the marks of violent emotion, and he would have proceeded in his invectives, had not Henry himself interposed and insisted upon the observance of that decorum which was suited to the place. On the following day both Peto and Elstow were summoned before the council, and reprimanded. Upon this occasion the Earl of Essex said that they deserved to be tied up together in a sack, and thrown into the Thames. "Threaten such things," said Elstow, with a Sardonic smile, "to rich and dainty folk, which are clothed in purple, fare delicately, and have their chief hope in the present world: we esteem them

not, but are joyful when for the discharge of our duty we are driven hence. Thank God, we know the way to heaven to be as near by water as by land; nor care we, therefore, by which of these two roads we travel thither[d]."

Another disreputable effort of the Romanists to prop their declining influence occupied a considerable portion of the public attention during the latter part of this year. In the parish of Aldington, in Kent, had lived a woman, named Elizabeth Barton, who was once afflicted with an hysterical disorder, and who had been used, during the paroxysms of her malady, to utter various incoherent sentences. Such unfortunate persons have often been considered by the weak and superstitious as inspired; a notion of which Master, the rector of the parish, gladly availed himself in this case for the purpose of accomplishing his own interested ends. This unworthy pastor had a chapel attached to his cure, dedicated to the Virgin. Of course an image of the sainted patroness was there, and Master was sufficiently aware that if superstitious dupes could be persuaded to honour this idol by their pilgrimages, no inconsiderable

[d] Stow. The conduct of these friars appears not to have been forgotten by the people of London, for Dodd, in describing the little satisfaction evinced by the London populace at the sight of those whom Queen Mary's accession brought from abroad, says, "Father Peto, and Father Elstow, two of the Queen's chaplains, were mobbed, and pelted with stones, as they walked in the streets."

augmentation would be made to the value of his benefice. His hysterical parishioner had become excellently fitted for the promotion of her pastor's object, for her health being improved, she was no longer subject to mental alienation. She could, however, still exhibit at pleasure the contortions to which she had been liable, but she was now able to avoid the random effusions which had been used to escape from her lips. Of these qualifications for ensuring the success of an imposture, Master basely contrived a plan to take advantage. He persuaded the unhappy woman to counterfeit one of the fits to which she had been subject, and in the course of this histrionic display to declare that if she should go on a certain day to the chapel of Court-at-Street, the Virgin would effect her perfect cure. Care was then taken to spread the particulars of this pretended revelation through all the neighbouring country, accompanied with the intelligence that the female seemingly thus favoured intended to present herself at the chapel on the appointed day. An immense concourse of people assembled to witness the expected miracle, which was so managed as to leave on their minds a full conviction of its reality. The instrument of this successful villainy now acquired so much importance, that it was thought worth while to place her in a more conspicuous situation. She was transferred to Canterbury, where she took the veil in the priory of St. Sepulchre, and where Dr. Bocking, a monk of

Christ Church, who was strongly suspected of an illicit intercourse with her, became her ghostly father[e].

This man, in concert with other unprincipled individuals of his own condition, then rendered the unfortunate nun the means of effecting a series of impostures, such as to attract at length the notice of the whole nation. She was designated as the Holy Maid of Kent, and her pretended revelations were so industriously extolled, that even Warham, the late primate, and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, though men of superior intelligence, were allured into treating them with considerable attention. Warham presented to the King a roll, on which were written many of the nun's rhapsodies, some of them conceived in a rude sort of metre. This farrago of artful absurdity, Henry put into the hands of Sir Thomas More, then Lord Chancellor, and desired his opinion upon it. More contemned the mystic scroll. "In good faith," he said to the King, "I find nothing in it that I can either esteem or regard: for a simple woman, in my mind, of her own wit, might have spoken it all." In this contemptuous opinion of the nun's pretensions, Henry fully coincided; and the imposture would probably have sunk into obscurity at length, had not party zeal revived its drooping credit.

When, however, the divorce of Queen Catharine, and a rupture with Rome, were generally

[e] Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 277. Godwin. Annal. 54.

anticipated throughout the nation, Barton's fanatical and seditious advisers employed her agency in the hope of preventing the consummation of events so little conformable to their wishes. A monk of St. Augustine's, in Canterbury, furnished the woman with a letter, written in characters of gold. This she pretended to have received from Mary Magdalen. When the King was at Calais, she asserted that an angel had brought to her, being invisibly present in St. Mary's church, where his Majesty was at mass, the consecrated wafer from the officiating priest. These impudent asseverations were intended to gain credit for the prophecies and visions by which the government was to be assailed. "An angel had bidden her," she said, "to go to the King, that infidel Prince of England, and order him to do these three things; first, to leave the Pope in the enjoyment of his right and patrimony; secondly, to destroy the folk of the new opinion, and their works of new learning; and thirdly, to retain Catharine as his wife." At another time she pretended to be the bearer of a message from an angel to a monk possessing a New Testament in English. The purport of this hopeful communication was, that the monk was to burn the sacred volume[t]. Besides giving utterance to these mischievous pieces of presumption, she said that if Henry should marry Anne Boleyn, he would cease

[t] Information obtained from Friar Rich. Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 271.

to be King in the sight of God at the moment of his nuptials, and would not remain in corporeal possession of the throne for more than a month afterwards [z]. The event had proved the falsity of this prediction; but as the nun had pretended upon other occasions to know the duration of Henry's reign, it became evident at length that her prophecies might in the end, by causing a popular ferment, ensure their own completion. Indeed the case began to assume a serious aspect. Two accredited agents of the Papacy lent their countenance to the fraud [a]. Bishop Fisher was induced, from a lamentable mixture of superstition and policy, to become one of the nun's secret advisers. Nor could it be doubted, that if any commotion should arise in consequence of that breach with Rome, which seemed inevitable, the pretended prophecies of this wretched woman would serve to stimulate and encourage the passions of the populace.

However, by means of Cranmer, Cromwell, and Hugh Latimer, the whole tissue of fraud and folly was quickly unravelled [b]. The nun, and nine of her principal accomplices, were then taken into custody, and sent to London. There, before the court of Star-chamber, they confessed, without the employment of torture, all the particulars of

[z] Fore, 262.

[a] 'She was cryed up with many voices, Sylvester Darius, and Antonio Pollioni, the Pope's agents here, giving credit and countenance thereunto.' Herbert, 176.

Hall

their nefarious conspiracy [k]. This it was thought of some importance to expose in the place which had formed its principal theatre. Accordingly, these unhappy criminals, being again transported to Canterbury, were ignominiously placed, during sermon time, upon a stage in the church-yard belonging to the monastery of the Holy Trinity there, and were in this situation compelled to hear the preacher's merited rebukes [l]. A similar degradation was inflicted upon them at St. Paul's cross in London, where they publicly read a confession of their impostures. Perhaps it might not have been deemed necessary to exact the last penalties of the law from the agents of this shameful conspiracy, had it not been for the persevering intrigues of the Romish party. But it being discovered that attempts were making to extort a denial of her confessions from the nun, it was determined that she, and her chief abettors, should be brought to condign punishment. An act was therefore passed in the next session of Parliament, by which Barton, with six others, were attainted as guilty of treason. This wretched creature, with five of her accomplices, were shortly afterwards hanged at Tyburn [m]. At the point of death

[k] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 239.

[l] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 31.

[m] On the 20th of April, 1534, (Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 240.) Master, Bocking, another monk, and two friars, were executed with her. Rich, who had been included with these culprits in the act of attainder, did not suffer with his associates. He had been mainly instrumental in discovering many particulars of the plot; a service, probably, which saved his life.

she again admitted her offence[n]; but fairly observed, that her ignorance might be some excuse for her, seeing that men who ought to have known so much better than herself, had counselled her in what she had done. The Parliament which sanctioned this act of justice, also voted that Bishop Fisher, with five others, had incurred the guilt of misprision of treason by their conduct in this disgraceful affair.

Before the end of the year intelligence reached England of some things that had passed at Marseilles, in the private conferences between Francis and the Pope. Clement had commanded or allowed, that a copy of the document in which he had annulled Cranmer's sentence of divorce, should be placarded on the door of a church in Dunkirk; but notwithstanding this offensive act, it appeared that he was still disposed to comply with Henry's wishes. When the decisions of learned societies and individuals were urged upon him, he said nothing to impugn them: indeed he even allowed Francis to believe, that if the King of England would send a proxy to Rome, every thing would be arranged to his satisfaction[o].

[n] Yet, in spite of this, Sanders represents her as a martyr. Harpsfield also, though he admits that she was "a monachis edocta," thus mentions her rhapsodies: "Cum multa temere, sed *mirabiliter* effutivisset."

[o] The Pope "said at Marseilles, that if your Grace would send a proxy thither, he would give sentence for your Highness against her, (Catharine), because that he knew that your cause was good and just." Letter to the King, dated May 21, (1534,) from Archbishop Lee, and Bishop Tunstall. (Herbert, 176.)

John du Bellay, Bishop of Paris, was despatched to London with this intelligence, and with instructions to press upon Henry's mind the advantage of attending to the Pope's suggestion. Bellay received for answer, that the King would advise with his council respecting the overture so unexpectedly submitted to him[p]. The privy counsellors, accordingly, were assembled to debate this important question, upon which depended a mighty change in the national policy; and both parties, aware that no light advantage to their respective causes was involved in the issue of that day's deliberations, came prepared for an animated discussion.

On the papal side, a member of the board thus addressed his sovereign: "Sir, your Highness has reached a point urgently requiring the utmost caution. The policy of your reign, the happiness of your people, and the interests of your posterity, are all now at stake. The question at issue is this; whether, in the ratification of your divorce, and in the future direction of your ecclesiastical affairs, you will use your own authority, or that of the Pope. For my part, as an Englishman, and the subject of your Highness, I wish to see every kind of power vested in your royal person.

These two prelates relate in this letter the particulars of a conference, which they held with the divorced Queen, by Henry's orders, with a view to persuade Catharine into an acquiescence with the arrangements made in her case. The negociation, however, completely failed.

[p] Herbert, 170.

But when I turn my mind to the history of ages past, I cannot help feeling apprehensive at the thought of innovation. In temporal affairs, order is of the last importance; yet without some one head to which all inferior powers are compelled to be subservient, confusion must necessarily ensue. In spiritual matters, order is still more important, and should be guarded with the greater care, because religion is the bond which knits all governments together. But, Sir, how much shall we detract from this religious unity, if we withhold submission from that power, which so long has bound Christians to each other? What body, having lost its head, ever presented a fair appearance to the world? Surely, Sir, an authority which has been revered for many ages, ought not rashly to be rejected. Is not his Holiness a common father to the Christian world? The arbiter of all differences that arise within it? Does he not support the majesty of religion, and vindicate it from neglect? Doth not the holding of his authority from God, keep men in awe, not of temporal alone, but of eternal punishments also; and by that means extend his power beyond death itself? And will it be secure to lay aside these potent means of reducing people to their duty, and to trust only to the sword of justice? Besides, who shall mitigate the rigour of laws in those cases, which may admit exception, if the Pope be taken away? Who shall presume to give orders, or administer sacraments, or grant pardons, dispensations, indulgences, and other mysteries of

the Church? Who will be depositary of the oaths and leagues of princes, or fulminate against the perjured infractors of them? For my part, as affairs now stand, I find not how either a general peace among princes, or any moderation in human affairs, can well be preserved without the Pope. For, as his court is a kind of chancery to all other courts of justice in the Christian world; so, if you take it away, you subvert that equity and conscience, which should be the rule and interpreter of all laws and constitutions whatsoever. I will conclude, that I wish your Highness, as my sovereign, all true greatness and happiness; but I think it unfit that your subjects should be put upon examining the right upon which innovations are made in ecclesiastical government, or the degree of obedience which they are bound to yield, if such changes are effected. Thus to unsettle the minds of men, is likely to cause divisions among us; it may even expose our polity both in Church and State, to the hazard of an overthrow. It cannot fail to give offence abroad, and to furnish foreign princes with a reason for combining against us."

When this speech was ended, another of the council thus spoke in reply: "Sir, if the proposer of this question had treated it satisfactorily, I should have had no need to trouble your Highness with any remarks upon his conclusions. But since from just principles have been drawn consequences which fairly flow not from them, I shall crave leave to examine the arguments that

have been alleged; which I shall do without citing the authority of Scripture, or that of the divines who now engage so large a share of the public attention. Nothing is more clear than the necessity of establishing some supreme power in spiritual, as well as in temporal affairs. The only question is, whether it is better that this power should be united in one person, or divided, by being vested in two. I am for one. For can we imagine a government without religion, or a religion without a government? Will the bare precepts of theology retain people in their duty without the aid of the secular arm? Or will the infliction of punishment suffice to make men lead virtuous lives, and to place them in the way for attaining everlasting happiness? But still, can a kingdom be safe, if the secular magistrate command one thing, and the spiritual another? Must not the subject, in such a case, be doubtful as to which he ought to obey, and thus be in danger of falling into either rebellion or schism? Examples of differences subsisting between the two powers, are supplied abundantly by the history of both ancient and modern times. From these disagreements, not only scandal and dissension, but also ruin and desolation, have ensued. It is therefore manifest, that the two powers ought to be united in one person; and the only question is, who is most proper to exercise them in this kingdom? It is clear that the Popes are not thus proper. To temporal power among us, they have no pretension whatever. Nor, on account of

their distance from us alone, to say nothing of other reasons, are they competent to exercise the spiritual jurisdiction. It is notorious that the expence and inconvenience of prosecuting an appeal at Rome, are such, that people, rather than endure these evils, often abandon their suits. This inconvenience is stated among the hundred grievances of the Germanic body; nor can it be prevented, so long as men are permitted to carry appeals into the papal courts. It is therefore evident, that since the temporal power in this kingdom is not vested in the Pope, nor is he within such a distance as to exercise the spiritual, he cannot lawfully pretend to any jurisdiction among us on either ground. It remains, therefore, that the princes of this kingdom assume both jurisdictions, as the Popes do, in the patrimony of the Church. But if it be clear, from reason and precedents, that both powers may be united in the same person; it is desirable that such person bear a temporal rather than a spiritual character; since it is more important to administer justice than to decide religious controversies; and to resist foreign invasions, than to declaim against iniquity. Neither is it more necessary that a Pope should preside over all the churches of the world, than that an universal monarch should hold a paramount authority over all the countries of the world. Nor, if such an universal spiritual authority were necessary, is the Pope able to exercise it with impartiality and freedom. For, setting aside the consideration of

human infirmity, he cannot escape at all times from the violence of powerful neighbours, but his policy will ever be liable to those fluctuations which have been lately caused from the alternate prevalence of the Imperialists and the French. As for his claim to be considered as the common father of Christendom, I am willing to admit it, so long as he acts suitably to such a character: but, if by interdicts, censures, excommunications, and the like, he proscribe, and endeavour to exterminate those who are willing to treat him with due respect; does he not virtually relinquish the paternal character? For the sake of preserving his authority in this kingdom only, we see that he threatens to stir up foreign princes to invade it: how then can he be said to act in the manner which a due discharge of the pastoral office requires? But it is asserted, that a defection from the see of Rome will probably be followed by evil to the cause of religion. Alas! if religion stood not on firmer grounds than the authority of Popes, it were very easy to be shaken. But did not God reveal his will to man in the first ages of the world? Have we not a series of revelations, all confirming and explaining each other, recorded in holy Scripture? What need we then other standards of our faith, besides those which we certainly know to have proceeded from the Divine Wisdom? And though it may be true, that the labour of an ecclesiastic is well bestowed in explaining certain points, yet I can never admit that the great principles of our religion are so

open to dispute, as to require the constant services of one who may pronounce authoritatively on their import. If indeed the certain is to be joined and confounded with the uncertain[1]; then it is not to be denied that a common umpire may be required for the decision of such controversies as are likely to arise from a state of religious belief so vague and undefined. But as this state of things cannot fail to engender strife and debate, temporal princes ought to possess the power of moderating the heat of such dissensions. Nor is it a valid objection against conferring this prerogative on the crown, that bad princes may hereafter abuse it; there being a possibility of bad popes as well as of bad kings. Therefore, Sir, as your Highness proposes not to create new articles of faith, I see no reason why your own clergy should not explain those which are already known, without any dependence upon the Pope for assistance. His primacy indeed may be still acknowledged, and he may be consulted upon any point of difficulty, if it should be thought expedient and necessary so to do; but our Church ought to be considered as independent of his authority, and as acknowledging no earthly superior but your Highness. Nor, in the decision lately made by our ecclesiastical authorities without the sanction of the Roman see, can any blame justly attach to us. Has not the Archbishop of Canterbury pronounced

[1] Scripture with tradition. The claims of the latter to the respect of Romanists were not accurately defined until the sitting of the Council of Trent.

a sentence conformable to the judgments of those most competent to decide upon such a question in every part of Europe: a sentence too of which the Pope himself has never denied the justice? Since, however, it has been intimated to us, that a pardon will be more readily granted than a licence, I would advise that an application for the former be made to the Pontiff; but that in the mean time such measures be adopted as may shew that we consider ourselves independent of his authority. By this course it will appear, that we neither wish to withhold the respect which has been usually paid to the Roman see, nor to surrender the prerogatives which properly belong to our own Sovereign. Thus a reasonable degree of regard to established prejudices will be blended with the principles of sound policy; and if foreigners should attempt to invade our land, the union of both parties among us will not fail to drive them ignominiously from our shores[r]."

This latter opinion prevailed in the council[s]. It was determined that enquiry should be made as to whether the Pope is superior to a general council, and whether he has from Scripture any more authority in England than any other foreign bishop; that if it should appear that he has no such authority, the secular clergy, and the religious orders, especially the Observants[t], should

[r] Herbert, 170.

[s] December 2. Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 230.

[t] The articles to be considered in this Council, nineteen in number, are printed by Strype. The Observants are the only

be directed to instruct the people in their sermons, that the papal authority is an usurpation; that the act, passed in the last session of Parliament, against appeals to Rome, together with the King's appeal from the Pope to the next general council, be affixed to every church-door throughout England, and also be circulated in Flanders; that a remonstrance be addressed to the Pope from the nobility and prelacy, upon the subject of the wrongs which the King and kingdom had received from the Roman see; that a negociation with the German Protestants be entered into, and emissaries be sent into Scotland. On the other hand, it was resolved, that a new application should be made to the Pope; and Bellay, the French ambassador, gladly undertook to become the bearer of it. The most inclement season had then arrived; but probably the evident disposition of the English court convinced Bellay, that no time was to be lost by those who desired to prevent Henry from pushing matters to an extremity with the Pontiff. Regardless, therefore, of the difficulties necessarily attendant upon a long journey in the middle of winter, the Bishop of Paris proceeded to Rome[*] with all practicable expedition. He there exerted all his eloquence to impress upon the minds of the Pope and cardinals, that England was not even yet absolutely

order mentioned by name in these articles. It is therefore reasonable to conclude, that these friars were found more unmanageable than any others.

[*] December 26. Collier. II. 79.

lost to their Church. This intelligence was received by the majority of his hearers with much satisfaction; and it was determined, in consequence, that if the King would send a written engagement to submit his affair once more to the Roman court, no endeavours should be wanting to arrange every thing according to his wishes. The plan devised for this purpose was, that the cause should be finally adjudged at Cambray, before a body of cardinals, among whom none devoted to the Emperor should be allowed to act. Bellay despatched a messenger to England with this offer of accommodation, and with an intimation that a certain day was fixed for the receipt of Henry's answer; it being declared, however, that if no answer should be received on that day, the Pope would consider his proposal to be rejected; and would, upon that supposition, immediately proceed against the King. The reason why the King was thus limited as to time, must probably be sought in the intrigues of the cardinals attached to the Imperial faction. It was no longer the wish of Charles that the King of England should be reconciled at once to the Roman see. Since the Pope had connected himself so closely with Francis, it was rather the Emperor's interest to foment the differences between the courts of Rome and London. Hence the cardinals of his party found their zeal for the reconciliation of England with the Papacy, very much cooled. Henry himself, however, willingly embraced the offer which Bellay had transmitted to him; and,

accordingly, he despatched a courier to Rome, with a written undertaking to submit his case again to the Pope, as it was required of him. From some accident the messenger had not arrived with this instrument, when the time fixed for receiving it expired. The cardinals of the Imperial faction failed not to profit by this delay. They urged, that the King of England had now consummated his disobedience to the Roman see, and that nothing remained to the Pope but the resolute assertion of those prerogatives, which had been so audaciously defied. In vain did Bellay intreat their Eminences to exercise a little patience. "I only ask," he said, "for a delay of six days. The King of England has endured a state of suspense upon his case during as many years. Surely, therefore, it is reasonable, especially at this season of the year, to extend the time by six days, for the arrival of a messenger who has sea and Alps to cross [x]." But these representations wholly failed of producing the desired effect. The angry feelings of the consistory were excited by a false report, that Henry had published his treatise against the papal encroachments, and by an account of some dramatic piece acted lately at the English court, in which several [y] of the cardinals were introduced for the pur-

[x] Herbert, 173.

[y] "News came to Rome that there was a comedy represented at court, to the no little defamation of certain cardinals." (Ibid.) The cardinals ridiculed were, most likely, those in the Emperor's interest. Father Paul appears to intimate, that the whole

pose of amusing the audience. These accounts annihilated the forbearance of the consistory. According to the forms of the Roman courts, the proceedings by which Henry was to be attacked, required three days for their completion. But in that time a messenger from him might arrive at Rome, or the wrath of their Eminences might be somewhat abated. The Imperialists thought it dangerous to face these contingencies. Accordingly they persuaded the irritable Pontiff, that he ought no longer to endure this trifling with his authority. Happily the interested intemperance of these men prevailed. In one day were despatched the formalities usually allotted to three. Henry's marriage with Catharine was affirmed; and he was required, under penalty of incurring ecclesiastical censures, to receive her again as his wife. Two days after the sitting of this memorable consistory, the English messenger arrived in Rome, charged with his master's written submission, and with urgent letters from the King of France, that the business might be immediately arranged to the satisfaction of his ally. This arrival overwhelmed the more moderate cardinals with confusion. They lost no time in waiting upon the Pope, to intreat him that their late proceedings might be re-considered. But Clement was so much overawed by the Emperor's power, and so confident in the success of his own crooked

body of cardinals were thus lashed. But Lord Herbert's statement is the more probable one.

politics, that he chose to maintain the threatening attitude that he had assumed, in the hope, most likely, of thus gratifying Charles, and of discovering, at no distant time, some expedient by which he might be enabled to retrace his steps. He, therefore, refused to re-consider the acts of the last consistory. On this, Bellay left Rome. In his return homewards, he had the farther mortification of meeting Sir Edward Karne, who was journeying towards the pontifical city, for the purpose of making final arrangements with Clement. When, however, Karne learnt from the French ambassador, in what manner the consistory stood committed, he too returned[z], and completed the disgust which Henry had long entertained towards the Roman see, by relating this new example of infatuation that had been displayed by the Pope and cardinals[a].

However, the intelligence, though it might excite the surprise and anger of the King, did not find him unprepared. It appears that serious intentions were entertained early in the year to reject entirely the papal supremacy. Nor is there any reason to believe that this design was ill re-

[z] Herbert, 173.

[a] Lord Herbert, remarking upon the attachment which Henry never ceased to manifest towards many of the doctrines of Romanism, cites the following passage from Thuanus, to the justice of which few readers will refuse assent. "Certe in reliqua vita ita se gessit ille Rex, ut eum, si æquiores et prudentiores Pontifices nactus fuisset, sponte se subjecturum ipsorum potestati appareret."

ceived by the majority of the prelates. Bishop Fisher alone is known to have demurred as to the propriety of the proposed measure. This opposition on the part of an individual of advanced age and high respectability caused great concern to Cranmer. He wished to see the members of the episcopal bench unanimous in representing the papal authority over foreign states as an undeniable usurpation. When, therefore, he found that the venerable Bishop of Rochester was likely to disturb the desired unanimity, he wrote to him for the purpose of engaging him in a solemn debate upon the claims of the Roman see. The Archbishop proposed that Fisher, with five doctors of his own choosing, should examine the authorities on which Popes grounded their pretensions, in company with Stokesley, Bishop of London, and five divines unfriendly to the Papacy. Fisher assented to this proposal; but whether it was actually carried into effect is not known. Perhaps the ill health into which the Archbishop's aged correspondent fell about this time, might render him unable to attend the proposed conference [b].

On the 15th of January the Parliament met [c], and proceeded to pass a series of acts which formally emancipated the English nation from its dependence upon the Roman see. The intention

[b] Stokesley wrote to Fisher, on the 8th of January, to make an appointment for the proposed conference. Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 226.

[c] And sat until the 30th of March. Herbert, 173.

of the government to confer this important benefit upon the country was unequivocally shewn by an arrangement made with the episcopal bench. One of its members preached at St. Paul's Cross on every Sunday during the session, for the purpose of impressing upon the minds of the people, that the Pope can justly claim no more power in England than any other foreign Bishop[d]. In order that the nation might be sensible of the benefits likely to result from the admission of this truth, the rigour of the laws in force against heresy was considerably abated, and the pecuniary exactions of the Roman see were wholly abolished. The fierce intolerance of a barbarous age had caused it to be provided by the common law of England, that the obstinate heretic should be deemed guilty of a capital offence, and should expiate his fault by undergoing death at the stake. The cruelty, however, of this law was somewhat mitigated by the difficulties in the way of its execution. No one could be convicted of heresy but by the Archbishop and Clergy of the province assembled in a Synod or Convocation; nor could such convict be committed to the flames, unless by authority of a writ issued from the King in council[e]. In the reign of Henry IV. when a doubtful title to the crown rendered the monarch anxious to secure the affections of a powerful hierarchy, these protections against intolerant

[d] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 227.

[e] Entitled *De Hæretico Comburendo.*

cruelty or rashness were taken away[f]. Chiefly with a view of arresting the progress of Lollardism, it was enacted in Parliament, that the Bishop was to be judge in cases of heresy occurring within his diocese, and that any person delivered over by him to the secular power, as an incorrigible heretic, was to be burnt by the local authorities, without the need of any reference to the crown[g]. This oppressive act was now repealed, and it was provided that no convictions under the laws in force against heresy should henceforth be permitted, unless by the testimony of two witnesses in open court; that no heretics should be committed to the flames before the King's writ was first obtained, and that the mere broaching of opinions contrary to the laws and pretensions of the Bishops of Rome was not to be considered heresy[h]. By another act, Peter-pence[i], with all

[f] In the year 1401. Rapin, I. 491.

[g] William Sautre, parish priest of St. Osyth's, in London, was the first Lollard who suffered death for his opinions. Rapin says that his martyrdom was consequent upon the passing of this act, but the historian appears to be mistaken in this. According to Foxe, Sautre suffered in the year 1400, and he was certainly burnt by virtue of a writ *de Hæretico Comburendo*, which recites that he was adjudged guilty of heresy by the archbishop, suffragans, and clergy of the province. A copy of the writ is to be seen in Foxe, 476.

[h] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 231.

[i] Peter-pence obtained that name from being due on the festival of St. Peter ad Vincula. It was an assessment of one penny annually upon every housekeeper possessed of lands or other property worth thirty pence per annum. This payment was originally made, according to Collier, by the authority of Offa,

other payments to the Pope, were abolished; and dispensations, with all other such indulgences not contrary to God's law, as had been usually obtained from Rome, were, for the future, to be granted by the English archbishops. The act provisionally passed in a former session, against the payment of annates, was now confirmed; the Convocation was prohibited from making any constitutions without the royal sanction; commissioners were to be appointed for the purpose of revising the canons, with power to reject or confirm them as they should see fit; religious houses, exempt from the jurisdiction of their diocesan, or metropolitan, and dependent immediately upon the Pope, were subjected to the visitation of the crown; divines nominated by the King to vacant bishopricks, were to be elected by the dean and chapter, or prior and convent of the cathedral church, and consecrated by the metropolitan, under the penalty of a præmunire, to be incurred by the parties refusing so to elect or consecrate[k]. By these various legislative provisions, the power of the Papacy in England was wholly destroyed. Another act declared the sees

King of Mercia, to support an English college at Rome. Some of the Romish writers pretended that this payment was a badge of subjection to the Roman see, being a sort of quit-rent due to the Popes from England on account of their feudal superiority over that kingdom. At one time, in the reign of Edward III. Peter-pence were not allowed to be collected. But afterwards the claim was revived, and not resisted until the passing of the act mentioned in the text. Collier. Fuller.

[k] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 234.

of Salisbury and Worcester to be vacant, because their incumbents, Campeggio and Ghinucci, resided in Italy, and thus spent among foreigners an annual revenue of three thousand pounds, at least, which was intended to maintain hospitality in England[l]. Lastly, this Parliament, before its prorogation, limited the succession to the crown, to the issue of the present Queen, or in default of such, to the King's right heirs; declared the marriage with Catharine void, and the issue from it illegitimate; ordered that Catharine should henceforth be styled Princess Dowager of Wales; pronounced that no marriages within the degrees enumerated by Moses should be considered lawful; and imposed upon such as should be required to swear that they would maintain the succession as now established, the necessity of taking such oath under the penalty attached to misprision of treason[m].

These acts, by which the ecclesiastical polity long established in England was wholly overthrown, were passed in a session remarkable for the scanty attendance of the spiritual lords. Only the Archbishop of Canterbury, six bishops[n], and twelve abbots, attended their parliamentary duty,

[l] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 234. Ghinucci succeeded the reigning Pope in the see of Worcester, and the two immediate predecessors of Clement in that preferment were also Italians. Godwin de Præsul. 468.

[m] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 229.

[n] Those of London, Winchester, Lincoln, Bath and Wells, Landaff, and Carlisle. Ibid. 226.

during the discussion of so many questions calculated to interest men of their order. The degree of opposition excited by these important innovations is unknown, but it appears that the chief weight of obviating the objections that arose fell upon Cranmer[o]. To him, therefore, this session of Parliament, though productive of great satisfaction, must have been one of severe labour. Nor when his services to the cause of rational piety and religious truth are acknowledged, should it be forgotten, that to his zeal and activity the English people were principally indebted for deliverance from their disgraceful and injurious dependence upon a foreign ecclesiastic.

[o] "In so much that he was forced to answer to all the whole rabble of Papists could say in defence of the Pope." (Life of Cranmer, preserved among the Harleian MSS.) Melchior Adam asserts the same thing. "Incumbente enim, in ipsius potissimum humeros universa negocii mole, solus omnes omnium objectiones Pontificiorum excepit, retudit, profligavit; ac quid de Romano Pontifice, omnique ejus auctoritate, statuendum sit, ex ipsis fundamentis explicavit." Vit. Cranm. inter Vitas Theolog. Exter.

CHAPTER IV.

Progress of the Papacy in England—The Convocations and Universities decide, that the Pope can claim from Scripture no greater power in England than any other foreign bishop—An oath to maintain the new order of succession generally administered—Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher refuse it—Cranmer recommends, ineffectually, that they should be allowed to swear in a manner satisfactory to their consciences—The oath taken throughout the country—The King's injunctions to the clergy—Bishop Nix—The Franciscan Observants suppressed—Cranmer's domestic arrangements—Melancthon invited to England—Death of Clement VII. and accession of Paul III.—State of English parties—The Duke of Norfolk—Bishop Gardiner—Bishop Tunstall—The Archbishop preaches at Canterbury—He is attacked in the pulpit by the prior of the Black Friars—Consequences of this—Meeting of Parliament—Acts passed relating to the Church—Fisher, More, and others attainted—Translations of the Scriptures—Wickliffe's Version—Tyndale's Testament—Tunstall endeavours to suppress it—A new translation of the Bible promised under Archbishop Warham—Last labours and death of Tyndale—Cranmer charged with presenting an address to the King, praying for a new translation of Scripture—Progress of the Reformation during the year.

By the decisive acts passed in the last session of Parliament, the polity of England underwent an important change; as a foreign authority long allowed to interfere in her domestic affairs was now constitutionally disclaimed. This alien influence, so insulting to the national independence, and which had proved so injurious to the spiritual welfare of the people, was established by dint of

much art and perseverance. Augustine, who evangelised the Jutes in Kent, had been sent upon his holy mission by Gregory I. the Roman Bishop; a superstitious prelate, but from his zeal and virtue, perhaps, not improperly designated among Popes as the Great[a]. While, however, the services of Gregory and Augustine receive their due acknowledgment, it should not be forgotten, that to these meritorious ecclesiastics the conversion of the British isles is but very partially attributable, and that, in arranging the mission into Kent, their designs, or at all events those of Gregory, were not inspired solely by religious zeal. The light of Christianity had not long shone upon the face of society, before its rays penetrated into Britain[b]. From Rome, it is as-

[a] "His virtues, and even his faults, a singular mixture of simplicity and cunning, of pride and humility, of sense and superstition, were happily suited to his station, and to the temper of the times." Gibbon, V. 433.

[b] We have the authority of Eusebius, (cited by Collier, I. 4.) for believing that the British isles were evangelised either by an Apostle, or by some one among the immediate disciples of the Apostles. To St. James the Great, Simon Zelotes, St. Peter, St. Paul, Aristobulus, Joseph of Arimathea, and other individuals of note in religious history, has been assigned by different writers the grateful labour of acquainting the Britons with the glad tidings of salvation. There is, however, no sufficient reason for appropriating this important service to any one of these illustrious names. But it is certain that, in the fourth century, the British Church had attained a respectable degree of importance, since some of her bishops attended at the Council of Arles, holden in 314, and again at the Council of Sardica, holden in 347. Ibid. 25, 30.

serted by papal advocates, the messengers proceeded who brought this blessing to our shores [c]. But this assertion is unsupported by any thing resembling conclusive evidence, and is rendered very doubtful by an indisputable fact in British ecclesiastical history. The Asiatic Christians had been used to celebrate the feast of Easter on the third day after the Passover, a festival observed upon the fourteenth day of the first month, according to the Jewish calendar. For this usage they alleged the authority of the Apostles Philip

[c] Lucius, a British king, is reported to have written to Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, for a supply of missionaries to convert Britain, a request which was readily granted, and which was speedily followed by the propagation of Christianity throughout the island. This monarch's conversion is assigned, by an anonymous monk of Malmsbury, to the year 99; other authors have assigned it to twenty-two different years in the following century. Eleutherius appears to have become Bishop of Rome either in 171, or in 176. (Usser. Brit. Eccl. Antiqu. Lond. 1687. 20, 21.) A letter, to which the date assigned is 169, and which is supposed to have been written by Pope Eleutherius in answer to that of King Lucius, may be seen in Collier, (I. 14.) but the presumptions against the genuineness of this epistle are very strong, and moreover, what is remarkable, the request to which it refers is merely one for "a copy of the Roman and imperial laws, with a design to make them the rule of justice in the realm of Britain." Upon the whole it appears probable, from the unanimous testimony of ecclesiastical historians, and from two ancient coins found in England marked with a cross, and as is thought, with the letters LUC, (Usser. Brit. Eccl. Ant. 22.) that a petty British prince, named Lucius, tributary to the Romans, once lived and professed Christianity. Beyond these reasonable presumptions it is not safe to proceed a single step.

and John[d]. As this arrangement was liable to throw the celebration of our Lord's resurrection upon other days of the week than that upon which he rose from the dead, a cycle of years was calculated according to which the Sunday between the 14th and the 20th of the equinoctial month was appropriated to the solemnities of Easter. This cycle was adopted by the ancient British Church[e]. It was, however, found to be inaccurate; and, in consequence, another cycle was contrived which assigned the Sunday between the 16th and the 22nd of the month to Easter. This cycle was adopted by the Roman Church[f].

[d] "The Asiatic Christians kept this feast" (the eating of a paschal lamb in commemoration of the last supper) "on the fourteenth day of the first Jewish month, at the time when the Jews celebrated their Passover, and three days after commemorated the resurrection of the triumphant Redeemer." (Mosheim, I. 207.) "This they did upon what day of the week soever it fell; and were from thence called 'Quartodecimans,' or such as kept" (the paschal feast) "upon the *fourteenth* day after the φάσις, or appearance of the moon." (Bishop Mant's Common Prayer, lx.) "The western churches observed a different method: they celebrated their paschal feast on the night that preceded the anniversary of Christ's resurrection, and thus connected the commemoration of the Saviour's crucifixion with that of his victory over death and the grave. Nor did they differ thus from the Asiatics, without alleging also apostolic authority for what they did: for they pleaded that of St. Peter and St. Paul as a justification of their conduct in this matter." Mosheim.

[e] "Non enim (Britones) Paschæ diem dominicum suo tempore, sed a decima quarta usque ad vigesimam lunam observabant." Bed. Eccl. Hist. 110. Cantab. 1643.

[f] "Jam vero Britonum, et Pictorum, et Hybernorum cyclus

Not only, however, did the British Christians differ from their brethren of Rome as to the mode of calculating the time of Easter: in several other particulars were variations between the usages of the two Churches [g]. From these facts it is evident either that an intimate connexion had never subsisted between these two religious societies, or that such a connexion had ceased before the close of the sixth century, or that it had never extended to an acknowledgment of British dependence upon the see of Rome. It is certain that this dependence was denied by the native Christians when Augustine landed [h], and long afterwards. Nor as

Paschalis, in hoc quidem cum Romana supputatione congruebat, quod LXXXIV. is esset annorum: in hoc vero discrepabat, quod non a XVI. Luna, ad XXII. sed a XIV. ad XX. Paschales Dominicas numeraret." Usser. Brit. Eccl. Ant. 482.

[g] "Sed et alia plurima unitati Ecclesiæ contraria faciebant." Bed. 110.

[h] This is shewn in the answer given by the British bishops to Augustine, when he proposed to them to admit him as their primate, and to follow the usages of the Roman Church. "At illi nihil horum se facturos, neque illum pro Archiepiscopo habituros esse respondebant." (Bed. 112.) These prelates, indeed, said that without the consent of their own people they had not the power to admit the proposed innovations. "Non se posse absque suorum consensu ac licentia, priscis abdicare moribus." King Alfred's Saxon translation of this passage is rendered by Whelock, the editor of Bede, (111.) "Absque suæ *gentis* permissione et licentia." Thus it appears that the British Christians used *ancient* customs at variance with those of Rome, that one of these customs was an assertion of their ecclesiastical independence, and that their bishops were not esteemed competent to innovate in the concerns of the Church without the concurrence of the laity.

there is no evidence to prove the existence of such a dependence in the primitive times, or to prove any connexion between the believers in Britain and those in Rome, can it be reasonably doubted, especially as the two societies differed, that Christianity was not planted in our island by the zeal of its professors in the ancient capital of Europe. It is far most probable, that, according to Eusebius, the Gospel came to Britain directly from the Church of Jerusalem, undoubtedly the mother of the Roman, and of every other ancient Church. This venerable Church, however, had contented herself with the diffusion of evangelical light. She claimed no right to regulate the Christian world. Not so her Roman daughter, or the more modern Church of Constantinople. Both these establishments were under the direction of prelates who laboured incessantly for precedence over each other, and over every church within their reach. Towards the close of the sixth century this unseemly emulation had reached its height, and Gregory the Roman bishop felt it in all its force [i]. No wonder, therefore, that he was anxious to extend the usages and the authority of his Church over the British isles. In these was an ample field for the indulgence of his ambitious hopes. In Wales, Scotland, Cornwall [k], and Ireland, the

[i] Mosheim, II. 111. Cave. Anc. Ch. Gov. 305.

[k] Rudborne (Hist. Maj. Winton) says that the Cornish purchased by a tribute the permission to retain Christianity. "Concessit enim Cerdicius Cornubiensibus, ut sub annuo tributo ritum Christianæ religionis observarent." Angl. Sacr. I. 187.

people were Christian. In England, too, our holy faith was by no means extinct[l]. Indeed the interval from the first landing of the Saxons upon our shores, and the arrival of Augustine, is short of one hundred and fifty years. Nor did the invaders succeed in establishing themselves until after a long course of sanguinary conflicts. The Mercian kingdom was not consolidated until about ten or eleven years before the Roman missionaries appeared in Kent[m]. Even, therefore, were we not given to understand that Christianity still retained a hold upon the population of England when Augustine undertook to revive its drooping credit, it could scarcely be doubted that such must be the fact.

But notwithstanding that the Roman monk and his coadjutors entered into our island upon a service far less arduous than papal partizans would

[l] "Christianitas hinc postea (post Saxon. advent.) inhonorata mansit, donec illam Augustinus, præcipiente Gregorio Papa illo fideli, restituisset." From this passage, which is extracted from the translation of a Saxon homily printed by Whelock, in his edition of Bede, it must be inferred that, under the Pagan Saxons, Christianity in England, though unhonoured and depressed, was not extinct.

[m] The Saxons are believed to have arrived in England in the year 449. (Rapin, I. 31.) Augustine reached the Isle of Thanet in the year 597, according to Birchington, (Angl. Sacr. I. 1.) Archbishop Parker (81.) dates the arrival of Augustine one year earlier. Perhaps Gregory commissioned the illustrious Roman monk in the former year, and he did not begin his evangelical labours until the following one. Mr. Turner, in his History of the Anglo-Saxons, informs us that the Mercian kingdom was not established until the year 586.

wish men to believe, the self-devotion and the labours of these pious missionaries claim from Englishmen a high degree of respect. It is to be lamented that the motives of such men, or those of individuals who planned their enterprize, should labour under any suspicion of worldly-mindedness. Unfortunately for the credit of human nature, such a suspicion does, however, cling to the mission planned by Gregory. That Pontiff, by one of those bold strokes of policy which have so often emanated from his see, when he sent Augustine upon his mission, took upon himself to constitute that illustrious monk primate of the British isles [n].

[n] "Tua vero fraternitas non solum eos Episcopos quos ordinaverit, neque hos tantummodo qui per Eboraci Episcopum fuerint ordinati, sed *etiam omnes Britanniæ sacerdotes habeat, Deo Domino nostro Jesu Christo auctore, subjectos.*" (Epist. Gregor. ad August. apud Bed. 99.) It was Gregory's intention, that after the death of Augustine, London should become the Archbishop's see in South Britain, and that the Archbishop of York should be independent of the southern metropolitan. As, however, the archiepiscopal see never was removed from Canterbury; so also it appears, that the prelates of that see did not abandon their claim to the primacy of the British Isles. Professions of canonical obedience were occasionally made to the see of Canterbury, not only by the Archbishops of York, but even by those of Dublin, long after the decease of Augustine. In one of these, made by Patrick, Bishop of Dublin, Archbishop Lanfranc is styled "Britanniarum Primas." (Angl. Sacr. I. 80.) The object of the Popes in encouraging the Archbishops of Canterbury to claim this extensive jurisdiction, was obviously that of furnishing those prelates with pretences for introducing the papal yoke into Scotland, Wales, and Ireland; countries not subdued by the see of Rome until a period comparatively late. The Kings of England were naturally desirous, in furtherance of their

This arrogance cramped the usefulness of the Roman missionaries. Soon after their arrival in England, they held a conference with the British bishops on the borders of Worcestershire [o], and invited these prelates to co-operate with them in converting the Saxons. To this reasonable proposal, however, was added a demand, that the Britons should acknowledge Augustine's intrusive primacy, and should exchange the usages of their Church for those of Rome. The British prelates spurned this encroaching spirit, and refused to act with men who desired to accompany the dispensing of spiritual benefits with an insidious attack upon the national independence. At another conference with the native clergy, more numerously attended, Augustine was equally unsuccessful [p]. In vain did he assume a haughty deportment, and exhibit juggling miracles, most unworthy of his character [q]. The British eccle-

own political ends, of supporting their subjects, the Archbishops of Canterbury, in the assertion of these extravagant pretensions. Hence these prelates were styled "*alterius orbis Papæ*," and they became efficient instruments in undermining the independence of the ancient British Church.

[o] At a place anciently known as Augustine's Oak. Bed. 110.

[p] Seven British bishops, and many native Christians of great learning, are said to have attended this conference. Ibid. 111.

[q] Augustine pretended to cure, by means of his prayers, in the presence of the British ecclesiastics, a sick man, and a blind man. It is obvious that collusion in these cases must have been far from difficult; and it is reasonable to suspect it, because the alleged wonders were intended merely to bring an independent Church, not even charged with unsound doctrine, under the Ro-

siastics proved not unmindful of their country's honour; and no artifices, persuasions, or menaces, would induce them to acknowledge that alien authority, which sought to undermine their independence. At length Augustine was gathered to his fathers[r], after having earned indeed an honourable name as the apostle of the Kentish Jutes, but after finding himself completely foiled in his hopes of attaining an effective primacy of Britain.

But although Augustine reaped only mortification from his attempts to impose the yoke of Papal Rome upon the British Church, he was enabled, through the influence of his friend Ethelbert, King of Kent, to confer important benefits upon the Christian cause. The Kentish prince was then the most powerful potentate in England, and under the protection of his influence, Roman missionaries made their way extensively through the country. Paulinus was consecrated bishop of the country to the north of the Humber, Mellitus of that to the north of the Thames, by the new Archbishop of Canterbury; and the ministry of these two prelates was attended by a considerable degree of success. Neither of them, however, was so fortunate as to establish himself permanently in the diocese committed to him. But the Roman mission, notwithstanding, was followed by the happiest effects: it softened the prejudices

man yoke: an object most unlike those for which the miracles recorded in Scripture were wrought.

[r] Augustine died in the year 606. Angl. Sacr. I. 89.

entertained by the Pagan Saxons against the religion of the people whom they had subdued. The British Christians gladly availed themselves of this fortunate opening. Missionaries proceeded from the North; and it was principally by means of these Scottish ecclesiastics, arrogantly branded as schismatics by their Roman brethren, that England, from the Tweed to the Thames, became a Christian country.

When Paulinus retired from the Northumbrian diocese, Aidan, a Scot, occupied his place; but as the new diocesan owned no obedience to the Roman bishop, he did not choose to fix his see at York, according to the arrangement made by that prelate. He established himself in Lindisferne, or Holy Island, a small insulated spot off the coast of Northumberland[s]. Aidan's two immediate successors, Finan and Colman, also were Scots; and thus the evangelisation of England north of the Humber was almost entirely conducted by a Church, which held no connexion with that of Rome. In the Mercian kingdom, the largest in England, Christianity seems to have been planted wholly by missionaries from the ancient national Church. Peada, King of Mercia, was allowed to marry the daughter of Oswy, King of Northumberland, upon condition of embracing

[s] "It is plain, therefore, Aidan did not think himself under the Pope's jurisdiction. Had this been the practice or belief of the Scottish Christians, Aidan would never have altered the seat of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and removed it from York to Holy Island." Collier, I. 87.

the Gospel. The young prince, accepting these terms, was baptized by Finan, the Northumbrian bishop, who recommended to him, on his return into his own dominions, four of the clergy belonging to the northern diocese, as his attendants. These four clergymen of our apostolical, insular Church, planted their religion in Mercia; and one of them, Diuma, was consecrated bishop of Peada's kingdom, by Finan, the schismatical prelate, as Romanists are pleased to call him, of Northumberland [t]. Diuma's three immediate successors [u] belonged to the same Church as himself. In the kingdom of East-Anglia, extending over Norfolk and Suffolk, the prelacy indeed appears to have been vested entirely in clergymen who bowed to the papal authority; but the conversion of the people was largely owing to the labours of Furseus, an Irish monk [x]. The kingdom of Essex had nominally received the Gospel from Mellitus, the coadjutor of Augustine; but that prelate was soon expelled, and the country relapsed into Paganism. It was, however, finally and effectually converted by Chadd, and a fellow-labourer, who, like himself, belonged to the ancient British Church, happily established in Northumberland.

[t] Bed. 218.

[u] Cellach, Trumhere, and Jaruman. Thom. Chesterfeld. de Episc. Coventr. et Lichf. Angl. Sacr. I. 425.

[x] Furseus "preached in the country with great application, proselyted some, and fortified others, already converted. This person coming from Ireland, we may reasonably conclude him of the opinion of the Scottish Christians there." Collier, I. 89.

Chadd, who was consecrated by Finan, became afterwards the bishop of Essex[y]. The kingdom of Wessex was converted through the instrumentality of Birinus, a Roman monk[z]; and it did not afterwards relapse into Paganism, nor did it receive a bishop from the national Church. But Kynegils, the first Christian King of Wessex, married a daughter of Oswald, King of Northumberland; and when he received baptism, that monarch stood sponsor[a]. We may therefore fairly presume, that the British clergy were viewed in no unfavourable light among the West Saxons. Nor is it unreasonable to suppose, upon that account, and from the indisputable fact that the national Church was established in every part of England north of the Thames, and also in Cornwall; that Wessex was far from without obligations for conversion to missionaries who owned no obedience to the see of Rome. It is certain that Wine, Bishop of Winchester, when required to consecrate an ecclesiastic, named Chad, to the see of York, admitted as assistants in this solem-

[y] Bed. 222. The people of Essex again vacillated towards idolatry, when they were recovered by means of Jaruman, the British Bishop of Mercia. Ibid. 251.

[z] In 635. Rudborne. Hist. Maj. Winton. Angl. Sacr. I. 190.

[a] Ibid. It should be observed that the successor of Birinus was Agilbert, a Frenchman, but a divine who had studied in Ireland, and who was recommended to the West Saxons by Oswy, King of Northumberland. (Rudborne, Angl. Sacr. I. 192.) From these facts it is sufficiently clear, that Agilbert was nowise indisposed towards the ministers of the ancient British Church.

nity two prelates of the ancient national Church[b]; a plain proof both of the slight hold yet taken by the Church of Rome upon England, and of the estimation in which the British clergy were held in Wessex. Of all the kingdoms in the Saxon Octarchy, Sussex was the last to embrace Christianity. Within its limits, however, was a small community of Scottish monks, whose ministry, though unacceptable, as it is represented, to the people[c], may be reasonably supposed to have prepared the way for the conversion of the South Saxons. This desirable event occurred in consequence of a captivity sustained by Ædilwalch, King of Sussex, at the Mercian court. While the defeated king was detained there, he was baptized at the instances of Wulfhere, the victorious sovereign of Mercia, who stood godfather to him[d], and whose bishop, it should be recollected, was then Jaruman, a member of the ancient national Church. When Ædilwalch returned into his own dominions, effectual means were taken for the evangelising of his people[e]. Thus in every part

[b] Wine at that time (664, according to Godwin, De Præsul. 652.) was the only bishop in England consecrated in subjection to the Church of Rome. Bed. 247.

[c] Ibid. 293.

[d] Ibid. 292. Wulfhere's victory over Ædilwalch is assigned by Rapin (I. 53.) to the year 663. Jaruman died in 667. Chesterfeld, Ang. Sacr. I. 425.

[e] Under Wilfrid, who had been appointed to the see of York; but who, from some disagreement with the King of Northumberland, was not allowed to exercise his ministry in the North, in spite of the Pope's patronage.

of England, excepting Kent, can we trace from the historian of the Saxon conversion, a writer devoted to the Roman see, footsteps of missionaries unconnected with the Pope. Indeed the whole of South Britain, from the Thames to the Tweed, with the exception of only Norfolk and Suffolk, was, during its transition from Paganism to Christianity, submitted to the direction of British bishops; and, therefore, the plan of Gregory, so far as related to the primacy of his see, appeared at the outset likely to prove very nearly a failure. Instead of extending at once the authority of Rome, the principal operation of Augustine's mission at first was to restore the importance of an ancient national Church, acknowledging no superior but the Divine Author of her holy faith [f].

[f] Even had the Saxons been chiefly converted by Roman missionaries, (which they were not,) and did the conversion of a people involve its ecclesiastical dependence subsequently upon the Church evangelising it, (which does not appear necessary,) the Church of Rome, having apostatised from the doctrines taught in England in the time of Augustine and long afterwards, has forfeited any rights over our island, which her partizans may suppose her to have ever possessed. Whelock's Bede alone will substantiate this charge. From the text of that work, and from Saxon homilies, cited by the learned editor in illustration of his author, it appears that our ancestors before the Conquest did not believe in transubstantiation; (332. 471.) nor in indulgences; (195.) nor in the invocation of saints; (283.) nor in purgatory; (489.) nor in the propriety of restraining the reading of Scripture; (172.) More might easily be said upon the discrepancy between Anglo-Saxon Christianity and modern Popery; but the statements above, which are easily verified, sufficiently shew how

The Bishop of Rome's partizans had, however, succeeded in establishing themselves among the Saxons; and they watched, with their usual perseverance, for an opportunity to gain an exclusive authority over the Christians in every part of the island. A favourable opening for the realizing of their ambitious designs, was afforded by the marriage of Oswy, the powerful King of Northumberland, with Eanfleda, a Kentish princess. The monarch was attached to the religious usages introduced by the Scots into his country: his wife was no less so to those introduced by Augustine into her's; and at length, in order to terminate the differences which prevailed upon ecclesiastical subjects at the Northumbrian court, a synod was held at Whitby in 664, at which the question in debate between the British and the Roman Churches, respecting the keeping of Easter, was discussed in the presence of Oswy and his son. Wilfrid supported the Roman plan; Colman, that of the Britons. The former prelate maintained, that the usage of his Church was derived from St. Peter: the latter assigned the origin of that practice for which he was arguing, to St. John. Even, however, Wilfrid said, if his opponent were correct in his appropriation of the British usage to St. John's instructions, it ought to be abandoned, because St. Peter was named as

unadvisedly Romanists of the present day speak, when they tell us, that their religious opinions are the same as those which Augustine taught, and King Alfred held.

the rock upon which the Church was to be built, and as the keeper of the keys of heaven, by Christ himself[s]. Oswy then asked Colman, if Christ really had said these things to St. Peter; and being answered in the affirmative, he farther enquired, whether any such privileges had been conferred upon Columba, from whom the Scottish Christians professed to have derived their knowledge of St. John's usage in the point under debate. Colman of course admitted, that to the reputed author of his tradition, no such speech had been made. "Then," said the King, "if St. Peter keep the gates of heaven, I certainly shall not run counter to him, but shall cause his usages to be observed as far as I can." The majority of those present assented to this view of the case; and in the powerful kingdom of Northumberland the influence of Rome was now regularly established. However, Colman, the bishop, was not convinced by what he had heard; and finding that the independence of his Church was over-

[s] The Saxon Homilies, however, cited by Whelock, in his notes upon Bede, (237.) shew that our forefathers understood Christ's words, here referred to, as merely figurative; as indeed meaning no more than "I will build my Church upon the faith which you have now confessed." This construction was revived in England at the time of the Reformation. The power of the keys is explained by the Saxon homiliast (239.) as having been given to all the other apostles as well as to St. Peter; and as having been, in the first instance, apparently conferred upon him in particular, in order to render it universally intelligible, that none who depart from the faith which he then confessed, shall enter into the heavenly kingdom.

thrown, he retired, with several of his adherents, into Scotland[h]. A prelate who conformed to the Roman system was substituted in his room[i]; and under Theodore, who was soon afterwards consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, by Pope Vitalian[k], all England acknowledged the papal primacy.

After England was formed into a single kingdom, her monarchs naturally felt an interest in

[h] It is probable that submission to the Roman Church involved, among other things, the reception of the Roman service, which, though agreeably set to music, was in the Latin tongue; and, therefore, was more calculated to please the ears, than to inform the minds of the English.

[i] This was Tuda, who had been educated, and who was consecrated to the episcopate among the southern Scots, or Picts, a race of men who had been converted to Christianity by Ninian. This missionary, who was born of noble parentage in North Wales, flourished in the early part of the fifth century. Having travelled to Rome, he brought thence the mode of fixing the time of Easter which prevailed there, and probably other usages, which might have continued in the branch of the Pictish Church founded by him. If, however, the Picts in Galloway differed at all from their brethren, it does not appear to have been considerably; since Tuda, the new bishop of Northumberland, had exercised his ministry in that country under his predecessor, Colman. Still it is not unlikely that the appointment of Tuda might be intended as a sort of a compromise to soothe the irritation of the British party after their defeat at Whitby, by selecting the new bishop from a society which agreed with them in the main. Wharton de Episc. Dunelm. Angl. S . I. 693. Usser. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. 351.

[k] In April, 668. Theodore, however, did not arrive in England until June, 669. (Collier, I. 100.) He travelled into all parts of England, and was the first Roman archbishop to whom the whole nation paid obedience. Bed. 258.

countenancing the Archbishops of Canterbury in their pretensions to the primacy of the British Isles. The progress, however, of these prelates to power over Christian societies not subjected to the English sovereigns, was very slow. As might be expected from its frontier situation, Landaff was the first member of the ancient British Church which suffered a diminution of its independence. In the ninth century the bishops of that see received consecration from the Archbishop of Canterbury[l]. Thus the Papacy obtained a footing in Wales. The pretensions of the Popes in that age were indeed comparatively moderate; and, therefore, even conscientious clergymen needed to fear the less reluctance in connecting themselves with the Roman see. Notwithstanding, that encroaching power, though Argus-eyed to discern its own interest, and though it succeeded in planting Benedictine monks over the whole country, failed to place its authority upon a secure foundation, even in England, during the Saxon period. At the time when the Normans overran the country, Stigand filled the metropolitical chair of Canterbury; and though he was not sanctioned by the Pope, he does not appear to have been disowned by the people[m].

[l] Cimeliauc was consecrated to the see of Landaff by Athelred, who becai Archbishop of Canterbury in 871. (Godwin, De Præsul. note, 598.) In 982, Gucan was consecrated Bishop of Landaff, by Archbishop Dunstan; and the precedent was followed by his successors. Godwin, De Præsul. 599. Collier, I. 201.

[m] A Norman, named Robert, had been preferred to the arch-

But the ground thus lost by the Roman see was quickly regained. When Duke William was meditating the invasion of England, he requested Pope Alexander II. to sanction his enterprize. That Pontiff was under the absolute direction of the notorious Hildebrand [n], and therefore he could not be expected to discountenance any political undertaking likely to augment the influence of his see. The Norman adventurer, accordingly, received from Rome a consecrated banner, and the assurance of Alexander's approbation [o], accompanied, it is said, with an excommunication of all who should oppose his design [p]. Nor did

bishopric of Canterbury; but this appointment of a foreigner to the highest ecclesiastical dignity in England, proved so offensive to the people, that Robert was obliged to withdraw to the continent. Stigand, Bishop of Winchester, was then advanced to the metropolitan see, which he held with that of Winchester. The new primate did not obtain a pall from the Pontiff until four years after his promotion to the archbishopric, when he received that papal compliment from Benedict, one of the claimants of St. Peter's supposed privileges; for there happened at that time to be two such persons. Afterwards, Pope Alexander II. who was recognised by Edward the Confessor, took upon himself to suspend Stigand, as having intruded into the see of Canterbury while Robert was alive. But this papal suspension appears to have had little or no weight with the English; since Stigand regularly acted as metropolitan: and although Wulstan, Bishop of Winchester, scrupled to receive consecration at his hands, yet he was obliged to make to him the regular profession of canonical obedience. Collier, I. 221. 224.

[n] "Il gouverna absolument toutes les affaires tant ecclesiastiques que civiles pendant le pontificat de ce Pape." Du Pin, III. 166.

[o] Collier, I. 233.

[p] Rapin, I. 140.

the Conqueror's success disappoint the anticipations of the Roman politicians. William indeed refused peremptorily to gratify Hildebrand, after that arrogant ecclesiastic had mounted the papal throne, by any promise of fidelity[q]; but his reign, upon the whole, tended importantly to increase the authority of the Roman see over England. Papal legates were gladly permitted to sanction, by their presence, a council convened at Winchester, which decreed the deprivation of Archbishop Stigand[r], and of other members of the

[q] "Fidelitatem facere nolui, nec volo; quia nec ego promisi, nec antecessores meos antecessoribus tuis id fecisse comperio." Epist. Gul. I. ad Greg. VII. Collier, Records, I. 713.

[r] Stigandus, in concilio apud Wyntonian celebrato, A.D. 1070, jubente et præsidente. Rege Willelmo Bastardo, Domino Alexandro Papa consentiente, et per legatos suos Hermenfredum Sedunensem Episcopum, et Johannem et Petrum Cardinales suam, auctoritatem exhibente, degradatur ex tribus causis: quia, episcopatum Wyntoniensem cum archiepiscopatu tenebat injuste: et quia, vivente Archiepiscopo Roberto, qui ab Anglia vi expulsus est, ejus pallio, quod Cantuariæ remansit, in missarum celebratione usus est: et quia, a Benedicto, quem Romana excommunicavit Ecclesia eo quod pecuniis apostolicam sedem invasit, pallium recepit. Hic (Stigandus) sedit (Cantuariæ) annis 17, et Wyntoniæ incarceratus obiit." (Birchington, Angl. Sacr. I. 5.) No doubt the two causes last mentioned were amply sufficient in the eyes of Alexander, and his partizans, to justify the degradation of Stigand. But the cause of King William the Bastard's objection to the primate, must be sought elsewhere. He had incited the Kentish men to make a stand against the Normans after the battle of Hastings. (Parker, 162.) It is no wonder that the Conqueror looked upon the conduct of such a man as uncanonical, and deserving of degradation. In fact, he evidently feared Stigand's influence; for when that unfortunate

hierarchy who were obnoxious to the Normans[s]. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction was separated from the civil in a manner much more complete than it had been during the Saxon rule[t], an arrangement aiding the Popes in their endeavours to form the whole clergy of Europe into a body of men dependent immediately upon themselves. The bishops and abbots were gratified by the restitution of such estates attached to their respective preferments, as had been wrested from them during the confusion inseparable from a revolution[u]. A bias towards the Papacy was given to the hierarchy thus conciliated, by the appointment of Lanfranc to the see of Canterbury. This prelate was a man of eminent virtue, talents, and learning; but he was a foreigner, a monk, and a zealous believer in transubstantiation.

The Conqueror's son, Rufus, displayed, during his brief reign, very little regard for the ecclesiastical body; but he followed his father's policy as to the archbishopric of Canterbury. That impor-

ecclesiastic had been stripped of his rank and revenues, he was not permitted to go at large, but was detained a prisoner to the end of his life.

[s] Rudborne, speaking of the council of Winchester, says, "Plures quoque episcopi et abbates ibidem depositi sunt." (Angl. Sacr. I. 249.) What was the pretence for these acts, we are not informed: there can, however, be little doubt, that the deposed prelates were unfavourable to the Norman invaders; nor is it very unlikely, that they might not come up to Hildebrand's notions of obedience to the Papacy.

[t] Cart. R. Willelm. I. Collier, Records, I. 711.

[u] Cart. de Restitut. Ibid.

tant dignity was conferred upon Anselm, like his predecessor, an able and a virtuous man; but like him, too, an Italian monk. A similar arrangement was continued on the occurrence of the three next vacancies in the see of Canterbury [x]. From a continental monastery was selected the individual to whom was committed the distinguished charge. Such prelates were not only strangers to the national feelings of their flock, but also they had acquired in the cloisters whence they came religious opinions far more unscriptural than those which prevailed in England before the Conquest, and a notion that Popes were divinely invested with privileges of great extent. Hence all the endeavours of these prelates tended to imbue the popular mind with a superstitious deference for every principle, every usage, and every pretension, that emanated from Rome. Nor were the kings unwilling in general to co-operate with the primates in imposing this papal yoke upon the intellectual strength of England. The Normans had obtained possession of the country under the Pontiff's sanction; a superstitious populace is a mere puppet in the hands of its priests, and the privileges which the Popes had pretended to confer upon the English hierarchy might afford an opening to the monarchs into neighbouring countries yet independent of Rome, and of their own power. Upon this principle Henry I. rea-

[x] From Stigand to Becket there were five Archbishops of Canterbury; Lanfranc, Anselm, Ralph, Corbel, Theobald. All these prelates were foreign monks.

dily gave his aid in obtruding a bishop upon the diocese of St. David's, in order to make good his footing in South Wales [y]. As for Stephen, it was chiefly to the Roman Church that he owed his elevation to the throne; and although he made an attempt to break through the clerical thraldom in which he was held, yet that exertion was very near costing him his crown; and, upon the whole, his reign was highly favourable to the consolidation of that Italian influence, which was insensibly mingling itself with all the concerns of Englishmen [z].

Among the earlier acts in the administration of Henry II. was one which tended to confirm his people in their slavish deference for Papal Rome.

[y] "Ante tempora Regius illius Henrici I. Menevensis ecclesia Cantuariensi subjecta non fuit." Girald. Cambrens. de jure et statu Menevens. Eccl. Angl. Sacr. II. 517.

[z] The Archbishop of Canterbury, together with the Bishops of Winchester and Salisbury, encouraged Stephen in his usurpation. Nor was the act of these prelates disapproved at Rome. For "the Pope makes no scruple to confirm King Stephen's title, sends his benediction in a bull, and takes him into St. Peter's protection." (Collier, I. 326.) "The troubles during this reign furnished the clergy with a favourable opportunity to exalt the mitre above the crown. The court of Rome improved also these junctures to introduce into England new laws, which the English, doubtless, would have opposed at any other time. The canon law, compiled by Gratian in 1151, was brought into England on occasion of the contests between the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Winchester, about the legateship. These differences gave the Italian canonists opportunity to settle in England; and introduced, by degrees, the study of the canon law into the University of Oxford, where Vacarius was the first professor." Rapin, I. 211.

Nicolas Breakspear, an Englishman of obscure origin, had been raised to the pontificate, when he assumed the name of Adrian IV. To him Henry applied for his sanction to an invasion of Ireland. That interesting and important island, though Christian for many ages, had never been regularly subjugated by the Popes, and therefore it may be readily supposed, that a monarch who proposed to force their yoke upon its inhabitants, would experience no difficulty in obtaining their approbation for his enterprize. Nor was Henry disappointed in his application; and thus he began his reign by encouraging a belief, that upon St. Peter had been conferred a sort of paramount authority over the whole world, and that this extraordinary privilege has descended to the bishops of Rome [a]. Soon after Henry had received Adrian's leave to invade Ireland, he was indeed involved in disputing the papal pretensions; but he found, that to mislead the people, and then to correct their erroneous impressions, does not lie within the compass of one individual's power. He merely wished to restrain his clergy from placing themselves above the common law, and to prevent appeals in English causes from being carried before a foreign tribunal: he had, however,

[a] These principles are expressly asserted in Adrian's permission to Henry. "Sane Hiberniam et omnes insulas quibus sol justitiæ Christus illuxit, et quæ documenta fidei Christianæ ceperunt, ad jus B. Petri, et S. R. E. *quod tua etiam nobilitas recognoscit*, non dubium est pertinere." Girald. Cambrens. Angl. Sacr. II. 485.

himself virtually, if not expressly, admitted the existence of an authority superior to that of temporal princes, even in affairs effectively secular, and to that superiority he was eventually reduced to the necessity of submitting. Archbishop Becket, with a firmness that would have been worthy of a Christian minister in asserting religious principles of vital importance, resisted his able sovereign's wise and patriotic regulations. Nor, although the fanatical prelate lost his life in a contest so little creditable to his professional character, did Henry succeed in accomplishing his purposes. On the contrary, the deluded voice of Europe pronounced Becket a holy martyr in a righteous cause; and the King found himself compelled to combine his suffrages with those of his contemporaries. Then he was enabled to reap the benefits of a good understanding with the Papacy. Ireland was made to feel his power, and that of Rome[b]. The Scots acknowledged at York the superiority of the English Church over

[b] Henry did not take possession of Ireland until the year 1172. The reason, probably, why he delayed so long to act upon Adrian's permission, was his embarrassing dispute with Archbishop Becket. When established in the conquered island, Henry did not delay to reduce the Irish Church to a conformity with that of England; or, more properly, with that of Rome. This alteration was made at the synod of Cashel, the canons of which were confirmed by the King. One of these canons rendered the payment of tythes compulsory; a substantial benefit, which, it is not unlikely, reconciled the native clergy to the subjugation of their ancient Church.

their own[c]; and Baldwin, the mild and virtuous Archbishop of Canterbury, was permitted, under the popular pretence of preaching a new crusade, to travel through Wales in the style of a metropolitan[d].

[c] "The King of Scots, and David his brother, the barons, and other Scots of condition, yielded to the King of England, that for the future the Church of Scotland should pay a due deference and submission to the Church of England, and such as was customarily paid in the reigns of his predecessors, Kings of England. In like manner Richard, Bishop of St. Andrew's; Richard, Bishop of Dunkeld; Geoffrey, Abbot of Dumferling; and Herbert, Prior of Coldingham, consented, and granted that the Church of England should have that superiority and jurisdiction over the Church of Scotland, which in right she ought to have; and that they would never oppose the just privileges and pre-eminence of the Church of England; and that the rest of the bishops and clergy of Scotland were to give the same security." Collier, I. 383.

[d] "Hic Baldwinus legatina authoritate Walliam primus visitavit, et in singulis cathedralibus Walliæ ecclesiis solennes missas, pontificalibus indutus ornamentis celebravit: primusque illam totam provinciam in Cantuariensi statuit. Etsi quidam Wallenses Episcopi, etiam subjectione professa, a Cantuariensibus Archiepiscopis ante sacrati fuerunt." (Parker, 220.) This visitation was effected in the year 1188. (Collier, 397.) Giraldus attributes expressly Archbishop Baldwin's progress through Wales to the King. "Ut autem Walliæ sicut et Angliæ probos viros ad crucis obsequium Rex alliceret et obligaret; Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum Baldewinum ad Walliæ fines transmisit." (Angl. Sacr II. 490.) That Henry was not impelled to this step by mere fanaticism, is evident from what Giraldus says of his refusal to consent that St. David's should be admitted as an archbishopric by the Pope. The Welsh delegates who came to wait upon the papal legate in London, in the hope of obtaining this boon from the Roman see, endeavoured to purchase the con-

Anxious, however, as were the Norman kings of England to avail themselves of Papal aid, they did in fact by its means render their own condition such as is described in the well-known Æsopian fable [c]. They only desired an useful ally, but they obtained an imperious master. It was reserved for the feeble and unhappy tyrant John, to feel this mortifying truth in all its bitterness. During his miserable reign, Papal Rome under Innocent III. reached her zenith, and the English monarch, by the surrender of his crown to the Pontiff's legate, put the finishing stroke to the ecclesiastical degradation of his country. From the time of that ignominious cession until Wickliffe once more aroused the better feelings of his contemporaries, England was among the most faithful adherents of the Papacy. Nor although the authority of Rome was occasionally menaced by a vigorous prince, or a legislative enactment, had it ever been wholly denied by the mass of the people, or long resisted by the government, until in the last session of Parliament the three estates of the realm concurred in emancipating

sent of Henry and his counsellors; however, "tandem hoc responsum tulerunt; quod nunquam id tempore suo Rex permitteret, nec caput Walliæ dando Walensibus Archiepiscopum contra Angliam erigeret." Angl. Sacr. II. 475.

[c] "Cervus equum pugna melior com unibus herbis
Pellebat, donec minor in certamine longo
Imploravit opes hominis, frænumque recepit:
Sed postquam victor violens discessit ab hoste,
Non equitem dorso, non frænum depulit ore."
Hor. Ep. I. x. 34.

themselves and their countrymen from this ancient but injurious usurpation.

The complete and easy manner in which this great change was effected is worthy of remark. On the last day of March, Archbishop Cranmer proposed to the Convocation of his province the following question: Has the Roman Bishop conferred upon him by God any greater jurisdiction in this kingdom than any other foreign bishop? In the Upper House this question was unanimously decided in the negative: in the Lower House four members only voted in the affirmative, and one doubted[f]. Even this inconsiderable degree of dissent was not manifested by the clergy of the northern province. The Convocation assembled at York unanimously, after diligent inquiry and mature deliberation, determined the question in the negative[g]. The same question was submitted to the two Universities, and they also came, without a single dissentient voice, to the same determination[h]. These learned bodies

[f] Collier, II. 94.

[g] "Dicti prælati et cleri Eborum provinciæ antedictæ, post diligentem tractatum in ea parte habitum ac maturam deliberationem, unanimiter et concorditer, *nemine eorum discrepante*, prædictam conclusionem fuisse et esse veram affirmârunt, et eidem concorditer consenserunt." Protestatio sive Confessio facta per quosdam Episc. Decan et magistr. eccl. cathedr. quod Episc. Rom. non habet majorem aliquam jurisdictionem a Deo sibi collatam in hoc regno Angliæ quam quivis alius externus Episcopus. Ibid. Records, 17.

[h] "Post susceptam itaque per nos questionem antedictam cum omni humilitate, devotione, ac debita reverentia, convocatis un-

did not, however, deny the principles which they had been used to inculcate with undue haste, or without sufficient investigation. They examined the matter referred to them in public disputa-

dique dictæ nostræ Academiæ theologis, habitoque quam plurimum dierum spatio ac deliberandi temporis satis amplo, quo interim cum omni qua potuimus diligentia, justitiæ zelo, religione et conscientia incorrupta perscrutaremur tam Sacræ Scripturæ libros quam super eisdem approbatissimos interpretes, et eos quidem sæpe ac sæpius a nobis evolutos et exactissime collatos, repetitos et examinatos, deinde et disputationibus solennibus palam et publice habitis et celebratis, tandem in hanc sententiam unanimiter omnes convenimus et concordes fuimus; viz. Romanum Episcopum majorem aliquam jurisdictionem non habere sibi a Deo collatam in sacra Scriptura, quam alium quemvis externum Episcopum." (Ibid. Records.) This document, recording the judgment of the Oxford divines, was authenticated by the University seal, June 27. A declaration in the same terms was made by the several colleges in the University, by many collegiate bodies in different parts of the kingdom, and by a great number of priors. Foxe thus translates the judgment expressed by the University of Cambridge upon this question. "We, having heard and well advised, and thoroughly discussed in open disputations what may be said on both parts of the foresaid question, those reasons and arguments do appear to us more probable, stronger, truer, and more certain, and sounding much more near to the pure and native sense of Scripture, which do deny the Bishop of Rome to have any such power given him of God in the Scripture. By reason and force of which arguments, we being persuaded and conjoining together in one opinion, have with ourselves thus decreed to answer unto the question aforesaid, and in these writings thus resolutely do answer in the name of the whole University, and for a conclusion undoubted, do affirm, approve, and pronounce, that the Bishop of Rome hath no more state, authority, and jurisdiction given him of God in the Scriptures over this realm of England, than any other extern bishop hath." Acts and Mon. 968.

tions, and the conclusion to which they came was such as they found themselves unable to elude. In their judgment the less distinguished ecclesiastical corporations also concurred, and thus the whole clergy of England renounced, almost without a struggle, the foreign authority to which the Church had been long used to bow: a convincing proof that the arguments upon which this alien interference is founded will not bear the test of diligent and impartial inquiry.

Before the Parliament was prorogued, its several members took an oath to maintain the provisions enacted respecting the royal succession [j]. On the 13th of April some members of the privy council sat at Lambeth for the purpose of administering the same oath to different individuals resident in London and its neighbourhood [k]. Sir Thomas More was first called, and to him the oath was tendered [l]. It was to the King's deservedly high opinion of this eminent man's abilities and integrity, that he had owed the chancellorship on the disgrace of Wolsey [m]. Nor did More shew himself unmindful of his royal master's kindness. He was willing to gratify the King so far as to restrain the Popes from exercising powers at variance with the statute law of

[j] "As appears from the act made about it in the next session of Parliament." Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 240.

[k] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 36.

[l] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 244.

[m] "The King resolved himself upon Sir Thomas More." Foxe, 907.

England. Farther than this in humbling the Papacy his conscience would not allow him to go. He was, indeed, habitually swayed by a powerful sense of religion; and having grown up with those notions about St. Peter and the Bishops of Rome, which pass for articles of faith among Papists, he seems to have thought that a careful examination of the grounds on which they stand was a superfluous, if not an impious labour. Accordingly, when it became evident that Henry's measures tended not only to reduce Papal interference in English affairs within the bounds already prescribed by legislative enactments, but also to break off all dependence upon the Roman see, More felt anxious to resign the seals. After several applications for leave to quit an administration with which he could act conscientiously no longer, his resignation was accepted, and Sir Thomas Audley was appointed to succeed him. More had retained the chancellorship during two years and a half, and he retired from it in very moderate circumstances. So inexhaustible, however, was the fund of cheerfulness and magnanimity possessed by this estimable statesman, that when he returned to his home after the sacrifice of affluence and dignity, he amused himself with observing the mortification inflicted by his altered condition upon his wife [n].

The peace of such a man was not likely to be disturbed in retirement by any repinings after the

[n] Herbert, 162.

splendid scenes in which he had once moved; and it is to be lamented that he was not allowed to wear away his declining age amidst those domestic enjoyments, and that literary ease for which he was so excellently fitted by his temper and habits. But his example at that time was of great importance. His unquestionable probity commanded general respect; and by a numerous party his prominence in prosecutions for what was denounced at Rome as heresy, and his alacrity in assuming the character of a polemic, had been received with grateful applause °. The King

° More's conduct as a judge exposed him to the detestation of the Reformers, who loudly charged him with cruelty: as a polemic, he has long ceased to attract any notice. Upon the subject of the persecutions laid to his charge, Dr. Lingard says, that after the Convocation had condemned Tyndale's Testament, the King bound all magistrates by an oath to root out erroneous opinions; and that in consequence of this solemn obligation, Sir Thomas More exerted himself in his public capacity to repress the growth of Protestantism. An extract from one of More's letters is then given by the historian, from which we learn that the illustrious writer positively denied having inflicted any personal violence upon the adversaries of his Church. The testimony of such a man as More must be implicitly received even in his own case, but Protestants who are willing to render this justice to his memory have a right to claim from such as hold his opinions that they make a similar concession in the case of Cranmer. That eminent prelate, like More, a martyr to his cause, and a man whose virtues and learning were very far above the ordinary standard, assisted judicially in a few instances when individuals holding opinions at variance with his own were treated, according to the sanguinary maxims introduced by Romish canonists, as capital criminals. In no one of these unhappy transactions, however, is he known to have taken the lead farther than

himself too, having been in the habit of admitting him as a private friend, and having rendered him services of considerable magnitude, might think him bound to make a return so far as to express his approbation of the recent enactments. More, indeed, appeared not unwilling to go some way in gratifying his sovereign. When the oath was tendered to him, he desired to be furnished with a copy of the act of succession. This he carefully considered, and then said, that he neither blamed those who framed the act, nor those who took the oath; and that he should not hesitate himself to take a similar oath if he might be permitted to frame one, since he was willing to swear to the succession: but that the oath as it stood was one which he feared he could not take without endangering the health of his soul[p]. When pressed to explain his meaning more fully, he declined it; saying, that he might thereby appear to be arguing against the law, and might give farther offence to the King. Nor could it be known with certainty what were his objections to the oath tendered to him. Archbishop Cranmer was grieved in observing the peril incurred by a man of so much worth; and supposing his objections directed to those clauses in the preamble of the act

he was obliged by his station. When, therefore, his mildness and strict integrity are considered, it must appear reasonable to believe that he would have been gladly excused from such countenance as his office compelled him to give in a few cases of intolerant cruelty with which his name is connected.

[p] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 245.

which absolutely disclaimed the Papal authority, and pronounced the King's first marriage utterly unlawful[q], he thus addressed him: "It is plain, Sir Thomas, that you do not consider the unlawfulness of swearing, as you are desired, to be perfectly certain. You appear to think it doubtful whether or no you can conscientiously take this oath. But you have no doubt upon your obligation to obey the King in all reasonable commands. You ought, therefore, to disregard a hesitation which you consider of dubious validity, and to act upon those principles of loyalty which unquestionably challenge your obedience." This argument coming as it did, wrote More to his daughter Roper, "from the mouth of so noble a prelate," rather staggered his resolution. He remained for a time silent. But at last he persisted in his refusal to swear; since, according to his own account, having informed his conscience by diligent study and careful deliberation, he found that it would not allow him to take the oath required, because he felt persuaded that those who had framed it were mistaken in some respects[r].

Of the other individuals to whom the oath of succession was tendered at this time, no one refused it except Bishop Fisher. That excellent scholar and upright man had passed a long life in zealous attachment to those principles which had been impressed upon his youthful mind; nor

[q] Letter of Cranmer to Cromwell. Strype, Mem. Cranm. Appendix, 693.

[r] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 37.

when Germany and Switzerland once more offered to the notice of intelligent men the religion of a purer age, could he restrain his indignation at the supposed novelty of the doctrines then brought forward? In the hope of deadening the cry for reform, which resounded from every corner of Europe, he wrote against Luther and Œcolampadius[s]. He was animated by the same spirit when it was proposed to restore the English crown to its ancient rights, by recognizing its title to the ecclesiastical supremacy. Bishop Fisher had reached senility under a persuasion that this branch of the government was vested of Divine right in an Italian bishop: a notion which, from a consciousness of sterling integrity and of high scholastic acquirements, he did not think it necessary to examine narrowly in his old age at the bidding of men proscribed as heretics. He therefore hesitated not to exert his influence, both publicly and privately, to prevent the King from assuming a prerogative so long claimed at Rome. These acts, though they might occasion concern and vexation to the friends of scriptural Christianity, were sufficiently excusable; but the

[s] Foxe, 975. Wharton (Angl. Sacr. I. 382.) says that Bishop Fisher attended the Lateran council assembled in 1512, by Julius II. in opposition to the council which sat at Pisa for the purpose of setting bounds to the indecencies of that military Pope. Burnet, however, (Hist. Ref. I. 29.) says that the Bishop of Worcester attended on the part of the English prelacy at the Lateran. This appears more probable, as Sylvester Gigli then held the see of Worcester, and in all likelihood he resided at Rome.

countenance given by Fisher to Elizabeth Barton was a weakness closely bordering upon guilt. The punishment awarded by Parliament to his participation in this pernicious imposture had been remitted on the payment of an enormous fine [t]. But this, however it might ruin his circumstances, had in no degree shaken his conviction as to the Papacy. When the oath was tendered to him, he made the same answer that had been already given by Sir Thomas More [u].

Before the commissioners separated another attempt was made to overcome the scruples of these two illustrious objectors. More was again earnestly pressed to comply with the provisions of the act. Cromwell, aware, probably, of the displeasure which his refusal would occasion to the King, said with an oath, "I would rather that my own son had lost his head, than that Sir Thomas should have refused to swear." The interest thus taken in his fate was gratefully felt by More; but the religious principles which had guided his life were at stake, and no persuasions availed to shake his resolution. He, therefore, contented himself with repeating the refusal that he had uttered before. As he was on the point of leaving the room this second time, the Chancellor said to Cromwell, "Take notice, Mr. Secretary, that Sir Thomas de-

[t] "Libertatem autem simul ac bona redemit, data Regi ter mille librarum summa, quæ integros unius anni proventus ex episcopatu Roffensi prodeuntes valere eo tempore censebantur: si authori vitæ ejus fides sit habenda." Wharton.

[u] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 245.

nies not his willingness to swear to the succession." More added: "In that point I am content, and will swear to it if I might see the oath so framed as that it would stand with my conscience[x]."

The events of this day seem to have occasioned much uneasiness to the Archbishop; as from Croydon, four days after the sitting at Lambeth, he wrote to Cromwell, recommending that since the objections of the two distinguished persons who had refused to swear appeared to be directed not against the act itself, but only against its preamble, these individuals should be permitted to take the oath so worded as not to offend their consciences. By this arrangement, Cranmer suggested, the intentions of the Legislature would be substantially fulfilled, hostile designs of foreign powers would be repressed by the unanimity displayed in England, Catharine with her daughter would be furnished with an additional reason for considering their cause as hopeless, and the nation generally would be satisfied with the succession as recently settled in Parliament[y]. This merciful and rational advice was not, however, followed. Before the end of four days from the date of the Archbishop's letter, Fisher was committed to the Tower[z]. Attempts had been previously made to alter his determination. Cromwell visited him,

[x] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 38.

[y] Letter from Cranmer to Cromwell, dated April 17. Strype, Mem. Cranm. Appendix, 693.

[z] April 21. Angl. Sacr. I. 382.

and appears to have advised him to write a letter of submission to the King. But the dejected prelate could not muster spirits for such a task. He wrote to the Secretary, that "he was afraid to address his Grace, lest some offensive expression should escape him, for which he should be very sorry; for that he would not displease his sovereign in any point, unless it should interfere with his duty to God, whom he was bound to obey in preference to any earthly power: that he would willingly swear to maintain the succession, because he doubted not the competence of the Prince and Legislature of any country to order such matters according to their own discretion: and that he refused the other parts of the oath merely because his conscience would not allow his assent to them[a]." This submission not proving satisfactory, Dr. Rowland Lee, the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry elect, was sent to try the effect of his persuasions upon the unhappy prelate. He found the old man nearly worn out with anxiety, age, and infirmity, and willing to engage upon his oath that he would never again argue in favour of the King's first marriage: but at the same time he could not be persuaded that such a marriage is contrary to the moral law, and consequently indispensable by any human authority[b].

[a] Letter of Bishop Fisher to Secretary Cromwell. Strype, Mem. Cranm. Appendix, 691.

[b] Letter from Lee to Cromwell. Ibid. 692. Dr. Lee had married the King to Anne Boleyn, a service of course not unpleasing to his royal patron; but it would be doing great injus-

This reservation appears to have rendered Fisher's submission worthless in Henry's eyes, and the aged Bishop accordingly was taken into custody.

Soon after the prorogation of Parliament, commissioners were sent into every part of England for the purpose of administering the oath which could be required of men under the recent statute. They appear to have met with no more than five refusals[c]. Not even among the monastic orders, interested as they were in supporting the Pope, did individuals venture to persist in professing their allegiance to him. But at the expiration of a short time, the subscriptions of all the bishops, chapters, monasteries, colleges, and hospitals in England were returned into the Exchequer; where they still remain[d], a convincing proof that, however many men might regret the abolition of Papal influence, there were very few who could assign any satisfactory reasons for its continuance.

Not contented with extorting from the clergy a retraction of the sentiments in which they had been educated, the King sent circular letters to the several bishops, enjoining that they, and the

tice to this prelate's memory to suppose that his claims to notice rested on no higher grounds. Cardinal Wolsey, who well knew how to select his instruments, appointed Dr. Lee his commissary-general, when he held a visitation of the whole English Church, and the Bishop afterwards acted during several years with great ability as President of the Welsh Marches. Angl. Sacr. I. 456.

[c] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 249.

[d] Wharton's Observations on Strype, Mem. Cranm. 1042.

ecclesiastics under them respectively, should instruct the people in the propriety of those changes which the Legislature had recently sanctioned[e]. From one of the letters despatched at this time to public officers, may be discovered the principle upon which the government had proceeded in its late ecclesiastical regulations. It was directed that "the true, mere, and sincere word of God[f]" should alone be preached in the churches. This order was evidently levelled at those traditions by which Romanists have caused a schism in the Catholic Church: for although Christians, willing to make a staff of such broken reeds, imagine that these things too are of God, yet that opinion is in no case certain, and in many instances improbable; hence the definitions of the King's letter must have been understood as limiting the clergy to that source of religious information which, being upon record, is unquestionable. This royal act was therefore a return to those sound principles which had prevailed in England in the Saxon times, when the Church was ever inculcating the reading of Scripture, but was silent as to that equal, or more properly paramount authority in matters of faith long claimed by Papists for their traditions.

But however evident is the folly of intrusting the eternal interests of mankind to any guide short of absolute certainty, many of those who

[e] Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 259.
[f] Foxe, 964.

had grown up under a course of vain sophistry, in a reliance upon authorities long pronounced infallible, would always be likely to retain, if possible, their inveterate habits. In order, therefore, to prevent clergymen from clinging to the dubious notions in which they had been reared, the sheriffs were enjoined to transmit to the seat of government the names of all such ecclesiastics within their respective counties as continued to inculcate the questionable principles heretofore current. A more effectual mode of disabusing the national mind from the operation of these principles was adopted in the orders given to those who have the care of training the rising generation. All schoolmasters were to impress upon their scholars that the ecclesiastical supremacy was vested of right in the crown. The Pope's name was to be erased from all books of devotion, and, in fine, it was "never more to be remembered except to his contumely and reproach[g]." Besides these measures, two divines of eminence were sent from the court to Cambridge, in order to attack the Papal pretensions there both in the pulpit and in disputations[h]; that thus young men going into the world as instructors of others should take with them an acquaintance with the truth instead of prejudices against it.

The King's determination to resume the ecclesiastical rights of his crown was also shewn about

[g] Foxe, 964.

[h] Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 260.

this time by the proceedings instituted against Richard Nix, Bishop of Norwich. That prelate having now reached the venerable age of eighty, and having long since lost his sight, it may appear a just matter of regret that any thing should have occurred to disturb the repose of a man so bowed down with age and infirmity, during his brief remnant of life. However, in reality, Nix appears to have deserved but little sympathy. His habits are said to have been marked by licentiousness [i], levity, and cruelty. Through the ports of his diocese, as might be expected from its situation, numerous works injurious to the Roman Church had been introduced into England. It appears that these publications had made very little impression upon the country population, but in the towns many had been brought over by them to the principles of the Reformation. Nix observed this with alarm; he did his utmost to stay the progress of opinions so little to his taste; he endeavoured to arouse the attention of the government by representations of the facilities afforded by his diocese for the importation of books, which he thought, as he wrote to Archbishop Warham, if they should continue any time, "would undo all the clergy [k]." His zeal, however, was tempered by little or no sense of decency. He even made a jest of the sufferings to which those exposed them-

[i] "Si Nevillo, Historiæ Norwicensis authori fides." Wharton, Angl. Sacr. I. 419.

[k] Letter of Bishop Nix to Archbishop Warham. Strype, Mem. Cranm. Appendix, 694.

selves who were liable to be questioned for heresy. He called such persons men savouring of the frying-pan[l]. At last, however, he was detected in holding a clandestine correspondence with the Pope; for which, proceedings were instituted against him in the Court of King's Bench. When the day of trial arrived he pleaded guilty[m]; and it being pronounced that he had incurred the penalties of a præmunire, he was committed to the Marshalsea. He contrived, however, to make his peace with the government, and he was soon afterwards pardoned.

As another means of overawing the more zealous Romanists, it was determined to suppress the whole order of Franciscan Observants[n]. It had been found impossible to restrain these friars from canvassing the King's case in the most indecent manner. An abbot had been appointed to preach upon the royal divorce at St. Paul's Cross. Among his auditors was Father Robinson,

[l] Strype, Mem. Cranm. Appendix, 696.

[m] February 9, 1534. (Note to Godwin, de Præsul. 440.) Wharton (Angl. Sacr. I. 419.) intimates that Bishop Nix had sworn to renounce the Papal supremacy before proceedings were instituted against him. But this seems unlikely, because the session of Parliament in which the oath was made demandable did not begin until the 15th of January, and the accused prelate's trial came on at the beginning of the following month. That he subsequently took the oath must be inferred from his having received a pardon.

[n] August 11. Herbert, 178. The houses of these friars, all of which had been founded by Henry VII. were at Greenwich, Canterbury, Richmond, Newark, and Newcastle.

a member of the seditious friary at Greenwich. This man, emulating it seems his brethren Peto and Elstow, interrupted the sermon to tell the preacher that he was ready to dispute with him on the soundness of his arguments; and an opinion was carefully impressed upon the popular mind, that if the brothers of Greenwich were allowed to speak the truth, they would satisfactorily refute every thing that had been said, or that could be said, in favour of the King's recent marriage. In the hope that arguments and persuasions might induce these meddling fanatics to lay aside their party politics, some divines of eminence were sent to reason with them both privately and in the pulpit. One of these, while preaching before a congregation of Franciscans in London, was attacked by the warden of the house in the midst of his sermon: an indecency, which was so far from being disapproved by the brethren of the order, that the vicar of the convent, in relating what had happened to some of their members belonging to the house at Richmond, declared that "it was not the warden who spake, but the Holy Ghost who spake in him[o]." At length, it being found that these friars were wholly incorrigible, their societies were broken up, and Augustinians were placed in their houses.

Encouraged by so many indications of a complete change in the ecclesiastical polity of En-

[o] Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. 258.

gland, Cranmer ventured to send for his wife from Germany, where he had left her with her friends on his return home. He did not, however, allow himself so far to shock popular prejudice, as to introduce her publicly. It was only amidst the privacy of domestic life, that he enjoyed the pleasure of her society. Nor were his new arrangements permitted to interfere at all either with his official duties, or with the prosecution of his studies. On the contrary, he continued, unless called off by business, to spend three-fourths of every day in reading and writing [p]. His hour of rising was five. From that time until nine, he regularly employed himself in study and prayer. At the latter hour, he admitted those who came to him on business, and by such visitors he was usually engaged until he went to dinner. When that meal was over, he again commonly received persons who had occasion to see him. If no one, however, were in attendance, it was his ordinary habit to play a game at chess, or to observe the play of others, during about an hour. This brief interval of recreation being concluded, he resumed his studies until five o'clock, when he went to prayers. The evening was spent in exercise abroad, if the season or weather permitted it; if he were confined to the house, in some innocent relaxation with his family. At supper-time he commonly ate nothing; but as, according to the

[p] Relation of Morice, the Archbishop's secretary. Strype, Mem. Cranm. 619.

fashion of his day, a repast was then regularly served up, he never failed to take his place at the table. If he did not mean to eat, he wore his gloves, and contented himself with instructing and exhilarating those around his hospitable board by his conversation. After supper he used to spend an hour in exercise or amusement; and before he retired to rest, which he appears to have done about nine o'clock, he again applied himself to his books. He generally stood while engaged in study [q].

The sincerity of the King in his designs to reform the Church, was also evinced by an invitation to visit England about this time [r], received by Melancthon. That learned and amiable divine, though highly moderate and conciliating, was zealously attached to the cause of Scriptural Christianity: hence, had Henry been inclined to make no farther changes in ecclesiastical affairs, it is not likely that the illustrious German would have been pressed to pass over into our island. Melancthon, however, declined the proposed visit, though, it seems, not without giving encouragement to believe that he would make it at some future time, as he was expected by his English friends repeatedly afterwards.

On the 26th of September, the pontificate distinguished by the defection of England, was

[q] Foxe, 1690.

[r] Archbishop Laurence says, that this invitation was given not later than March in this year, as appears from one of Melancthon's letters. Bampt. Lect. 196.

brought to a close. Clement had long been afflicted with a weakness of the digestive organs, which, under medical guidance, he attempted to remove by some alteration in his diet. But his enfeebled constitution would not bear the change; and, unregretted by any party[s], he sank under the violence of his malady. On the 12th of October[t], Alexander Farnese was elected in his place. The new Pontiff, who is known as Paul III. was then sixty-seven years of age, and was believed to be by no means in a good state of health[u]. Aspiring cardinals therefore hoped, that after no long interval, the tiara would again become vacant. To the prevalence of this anticipation among the electors, Paul was no doubt indebted for some of those suffrages, which raised him to the highest pinnacle of professional greatness. He was, however, a man of eminent abilities[x]; but as to morals, he had contracted a blemish, which rendered him unfit to fill the highest station in the Romish Church, especially at such a time. Like many of his predecessors, he had been disgraced by notorious incontinence. A son,

[s] Clement "died with no small joy of the court. For though they admired his virtues, which were a natural gravity, exemplary parsimony, and dissimulation; yet they hated more his avarice, rigidity, and cruelty, increased, or more manifested, after he was oppressed by his infirmity." F. Paul, 71.

[t] Ibid.

[u] Bower.

[x] Paul "was a prelate endowed with good qualities; and among all his virtues, made more esteem of none than of dissimulation." F. Paul, 71.

Peter Lewis Farnese, and a daughter, named Constantia, married into the house of Sforza, were living evidences of the rank hypocrisy with which many Romish priests, even of the most distinguished rank, advocated the propriety of clerical celibacy. As Pope, Paul trod in the steps of his predecessor. While a private cardinal, he had disapproved Clement's precipitancy towards England; but when he felt his own brows encircled by the triple crown, his principal object appeared to be the aggrandising of that spurious scion, which he had, so little to his credit, engrafted upon the house of Farnese. His policy, accordingly, at the outset of his reign, was merely that of an elective Italian prince, anxious to secure a splendid inheritance for his family; and he seemed to regard the alienation of Henry from his see with sullen indifference.

It must indeed be owned, that the obstacles to a reconciliation between England and Rome, were of no ordinary kind. Henry, by recognising publicly Holy Writ alone as the Word of God, had aimed a deadly blow at the root of papal power. His adherence to a principle so manifestly safe and reasonable, was rendered likely by his own good sense, his obstinacy of temper, and the bias of those most in his confidence. The Queen fully maintained her ascendancy over him; and her disposition upon religious subjects, was unequivocally shewn by her choice of Latimer and Shaxton, two zealous Reformers, for her domestic chaplains. Cranmer's influence over his royal

master was also very great, and it was uniformly exerted for the extension of scriptural truth. Nor was Cromwell ever wanting to the cause of the Reformation. He was now the most active minister of the crown, and his advice upon ecclesiastical subjects appears to have been guided by the suggestions of the primate.

There were, however, other distinguished persons deservedly high in the King's confidence and esteem, who, though willing to side with their royal master in his rupture with the Roman see, felt anxious to guard inviolate the doctrines and usages of the national Church as then established. Such was the feeling of an individual not less eminent for personal qualities, than for illustrious ancestry, who was at the head of the English aristocracy. This was Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, who had succeeded, by means of his talents, in emerging from that cloud of adversity, which had overwhelmed the fortunes of his family in the early part of his life. The Howards first attracted notice in the reign of Edward I. when an individual of their name was honourably employed as one of the justices in the court of Common Pleas[y]. Sir Robert Howard, a descendant of the judge, made an immense acquisition of property and influence by a marriage with Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. This lady was of the blood royal, being descended from a daughter of

[y] Dugdale's Baronage.

Thomas of Brotherton[z], Earl of Norfolk, and Earl Marshal of England, who was the fifth son of Edward I. Her son, John Howard, being an active partizan of Richard III. was raised by that monarch to the honours which had been enjoyed by his mother's family, the Mowbrays. He was created Duke of Norfolk, and Earl Marshal. The Duke remained faithful to his benefactor to the last; and was slain, fighting in his cause, at the decisive battle of Bosworth. His son, Thomas, was taken prisoner on that memorable day, and was sent, by the victorious Henry, to the Tower of London, where he had the mortification to see the fortunes of his house eclipsed by an act of attainder. In the fourth year of the new King's reign, the hostility towards the house of Lancaster prevailing in the North, was roused into activity by the collection of an obnoxious tax. In order to quell the rising spirit of revolt, Henry resolved to use the services of one whose destiny had been hitherto fatally linked with the Yorkists. He released the Earl of Surrey from confinement, allowed him to resume that title, together with

[z] So called from a village in Yorkshire, where he was born, June 1, 1300. When his mother, Margaret of France, was in labour, she invoked St. Thomas of Canterbury, otherwise Archbishop Becket; and being soon after relieved, she of course attributed her ease to the deceased prelate's interference. In order to commemorate this satisfactory mode of proving that the cries of the living can be heard by the dead, the infant who came into the world at that time, was named after the individual from whom the Queen believed herself to have derived so much benefit.

the estates which he had derived from his wife, and sent him against the northern insurgents. Surrey's success upon this occasion was complete, and he thereby regained a considerable portion of that influence, which his family had lost upon Bosworth field [a]. In the early part of the eighth Henry's reign, the gallant Earl was re-instated in all the honours of his house. He commanded the English troops on that day so disastrous to Scotland, when James IV. lost his life on the field of Flodden [b]. The services of Surrey upon this

[a] Rapin, I. 664.

[b] September 9, 1513. The unfortunate James had taken the field as the auxiliary of Lewis XII. who was then labouring to counteract the ambitious policy of Pope Julius II. Of course that martial Pontiff did not forget to put his artillery of every kind in requisition against his enemies; who, accordingly, were duly anathematized as schismatics. Nor was this papal proscription overlooked by the English court. When the King of Scotland was about to commence his fatal march into England, Henry wrote to him, "that he did not question, by God's help, to frustrate all the endeavours of schismatics excommunicated by the Pope and council of Lateran:" and when after the battle, a corpse, supposed to be that of the defeated king, was found among the slain, it was determined to abstain from giving it Christian burial, because the Scottish monarch had died excommunicated. An application was afterwards made to the latitudinarian Leo, on the part of Henry, for leave to commit his royal kinsman's supposed remains with decency to the tomb. His Holiness replied, that "forasmuch as James had occupied the kingly station, was nearly related to the English monarch, and had shewn, it was said, some signs of contrition before his death, the Bishop of London should be commissioned to make enquiries as to the said alleged contrition; and if he should find reason to believe its reality, he should be empowered to absolve the de-

important occasion, were recompensed by his restoration to the dukedom of Norfolk; and henceforth he held the most distinguished place among the nobility of England. His influence was necessarily very extensive, and he exerted it unceasingly, though cautiously, in support of those religious opinions, which had been impressed upon his mind in youth.

It was, however, in the Bishop of Winchester, that the Reformation found its most subtle and dangerous enemy. Stephen Gardiner was born at Bury St. Edmund's. Of his origin, nothing certain is known. The man who passed as his father occupied a menial station in the household of Lionel Woodville, Bishop of Salisbury, the brother of Edward the Fourth's Queen. It was, however, commonly believed, that the bishop himself was the young Gardiner's father; and that, to avoid the infamy which the discovery of such a fact would entail upon a person in his station, he contrived to dispose of his paramour in marriage before the time of her pregnancy was expired[c]. But whatever might be the disadvan-

ceased prince, in order that his corpse might be committed to holy ground." Rapin, I. 724.

[c] "Accepi a quodam qui se ferebat hujus episcopi (Woodville) propinquum, Stephanum Gardinerum Wintoniensem Episcopum ab illo genitum, qui ut impudicitiæ dedecus a se posset amoliri, pellicem jam gravidam Gardinero cuidam desponsavit famulo suo, qui inde pater ejus habitus est." (Godwin, De Præsul. 351.) Strype, after repeating this account of Bishop Gardiner's origin, adds, "and so I have seen it recorded in the Heralds' Office." (Eccl. Mem. III. 449.) Burnet says of this account: "This is

tages which clouded Gardiner's earlier years, his abilities enabled him soon to surmount them. He received his academical education at Cambridge, where ultimately he became master of Trinity Hall. The foundation of his farther preferment was laid by means of an introduction that he fortunately obtained to Cardinal Wolsey; a minister who possessed in a high degree that quality of superior minds, which leads to the selection of those who are fitted to render important services. Hence Gardiner, More, and Cromwell, were among his confidential servants[d]. The first named of these three great men, was his secretary. While in this employment, the draught of a treaty, displaying more than common ability, was submitted by Wolsey to the King; who, struck by the masterly character of the piece, enquired by whom it was prepared. Gardiner thus became known to his sovereign, and he was

mentioned by Sir Philip Hobby, in a letter that he writ to one of those that fled beyond sea, giving him an account of his (Gardiner's) death: where he says of him, he was a man of higher descent than he was commonly reported: and on the margin it is said, he was nephew to a Queen of England." (Hist. Ref. II. 502.) It appears that this celebrated prelate desired to pass as some connexion of the Gardyners of Glemsford, near Ipswich, in Suffolk; since the arms borne by him when he became a dignitary, are those of that family, differenced by an abatement. Strype.

[d] Archbishop Parker thus characterises these three great men: "Morus Gardinero doctior, eoque Gardinerus juris peritior fuit: at Cromwellus utroque prudentior atque sanctior." De Ant. Brit. Eccl. 467.

soon after appointed one of the royal secretaries. In this situation he rapidly acquired favour, not only with the King, but also with Anne Boleyn; whom, as well as her distinguished suitor, he conciliated by his zeal and ability in promoting the divorce from Catharine. In aiding Henry to accomplish this object, and in asserting the right of England to regulate all her own ecclesiastical concerns, Gardiner still concurred after his services had been requited by the wealthy bishopric of Winchester. But he was not prepared to surrender a single article of faith, or a single feature in the religious worship, which his country had derived from Rome.

Gardiner's views respecting the point at which the Reformation ought to stop, were ably seconded by the Bishop of Durham. Cuthbert Tunstall was the illegitimate son of a gentleman who resided in the north riding of Yorkshire[e]. As a scholar, his pretensions were highly respectable. He was well versed in the Greek language, and not ignorant of the Hebrew; but it was in the mathematics that his chief attainments lay[f]. In that branch of learning, he had few equals. These high qualifications, united, as they were, to unblemished morals, and a great suavity of disposition, brought Tunstall forward in early life. Archbishop Warham became his friend, and appointed

[e] "Ortum habuit Hatchfordæ in comitatu Richmondiæ, patre quidem nobili prognatus, sed ex concubina." Godwin, De Præsul. 755.

[f] Ibid.

him his vicar-general. He then attracted the notice of his sovereign, by whom he was despatched abroad upon several embassies. His earlier domestic employments of importance were those of master of the rolls, and keeper of the privy seal. At length his political and legal services were rewarded by the bishopric of London, which he held during nine years. From this see he was, in the year 1530, translated to that of Durham. In his new situation he fully justified the opinion that had been previously entertained of him. He disbursed his ample revenues in works of public utility, in a noble hospitality, and in a liberal attention to the claims of indigence. In religious opinions, Bishop Tunstall was invariably, though cautiously and candidly, opposed to that revival of the ancient faith, which has conferred celebrity upon his age. He was willing indeed to treat the papal authority as a political usurpation; but he was anxious to guard inviolate every other principle in which he had been trained.

About Michaelmas, the King, who was residing at Winchester, issued orders to the bishops to repair to their respective dioceses, and to preach there against the papal claims to jurisdiction in England. Obedient to this command, Archbishop Cranmer proceeded to Canterbury, and from the pulpit of its cathedral, he strenuously impugned upon two occasions the pretensions of the Roman see. He chiefly laboured to convince his hearers, that the Popes are not God's vicars upon earth: a position which he strengthened by a detail of

the various artifices which had conducted those prelates to their actual greatness. He then proceeded to describe the appearance presented by the Popedom in those days. The holiness, he said, attributed to the Pontiff, and to the individuals about him, existed in name alone, and would never be supposed to characterise those elevated ecclesiastics by any impartial and intelligent observer of their habits. Against the laws and canons of the Roman Church he also inveighed with great severity, wholly denying their Divine authority, and intimating to his congregation, that such of these constitutions as were truly unexceptionable, were now to be obeyed, because sanctioned by the King. As for the rites and ceremonies of religion, the Archbishop warned his hearers against being deluded into an opinion of their power to infuse sanctification into the human heart. That blessing, he said, like the greater one of eternal life, must flow from the merits and mediation of the Saviour. However, he added, these outward forms ought to be treated with respect, as conducing to the decorum of public worship, as serving to commemorate many important circumstances in the history of religion, and as being enjoined by the law of the land, to which all Christians are bound to pay obedience.

These doctrines, however new they might be to the people of Canterbury, appeared to have been tolerably well received; and, in consequence, the prior of the Dominicans undertook to refute from

the pulpit what the Archbishop had inculcated. The task was one of some delicacy, because the Pope's jurisdiction over England had been abolished by a legislative act, and had been solemnly disclaimed by the whole ecclesiastical body. The prior, therefore, found himself precluded from advocating the papal cause in direct terms. But, in spite of this seeming difficulty, he managed so as to take good care that none of his hearers should mistake the purport of his sermon. He maintained in it, that infallibility belonged to the Church of Christ, a phrase which, in the mouth of a Romanist, is understood to mean nothing more than his own particular sect. But lest any of the congregation should mistake or misrepresent the meaning which he attached to this phrase, he adverted to the charge of immorality, which the Archbishop had brought against several Popes. Upon this subject, the preacher merely observed, "I shall not slander the Bishops of Rome." As for the canons of the Church, he asserted that they were not less binding upon the consciences of men, than the express laws of God.

This attack from the pulpit was succeeded by another of a more direct nature, which the prior made upon his diocesan, before a considerable number of witnesses. Upon this occasion he defended the moral character of the Popes in express terms; asserting, that he knew no instance in which any one of them had acted unworthily of his station. At the same time he charged the Archbishop with want of charity, because that

prelate had declared in his sermon, that he had prayed daily, during several years, for the destruction of the papal power, and that he thanked God for delivering the English nation from it.

Mild and placable as was the disposition of Cranmer, a just regard to his character and station would not allow him to pass over unnoticed this public attack. Accordingly, before Christmas, he summoned the prior to appear in his presence. The bold preacher now became alarmed, and discovered a willingness to make all the reparation in his power for the affront which he had offered to his diocesan. His sermon, he said, was not levelled at the discourses of the Archbishop; that indeed there was no room for such an attack, since his Grace had preached nothing exceptionable. With these private concessions, the primate was satisfied; but his opponent, having escaped public censure and refutation, did not hesitate to claim the victory in the contest. He represented the Archbishop's forbearance as a tacit acknowledgment of haste, and defective information. He openly declared, that Cranmer's sermons taught erroneous doctrine in many points; and that he had designedly exposed them from the pulpit. These declarations were eagerly received by such persons in Kent as were attached to the Papacy; and a considerable prejudice against the Archbishop was thus excited in his own diocese. At length an account of the transaction, and its consequences, reached the King's ears. Henry immediately recommended that pro

ceedings should be regularly instituted against the obnoxious prior. To this proposal Cranmer appears to have made no objection, provided that he personally should not be required to sit in judgment upon the offence; at all events, unless some other individual were associated with him. The course, however, which he seems to have preferred in this case was, that it should be referred to Cromwell, the Lord Privy Seal[g]. It is not known whether this matter proceeded any farther; but it could hardly fail of convincing all who were acquainted with it, that among the monastic orders, the Papacy might still calculate upon many zealous partizans.

On the 3d of November the Parliament and passed some important acts relating to the Church. The Convocation having already, in the preceding spring, disclaimed the papal authority, and having declared that the King's power over his subjects extended to ecclesiastical affairs, the Parliament now confirmed this decision, and rendered it effective. It was enacted, that the supreme authority over the English Church should hereafter be vested in the crown; and that the sovereign should be empowered to exercise the rights, privileges, and jurisdiction, properly appertaining to the highest ecclesiastical authority. This act, in all probability, was far from unacceptable to the King; and indeed it was rendered

[g] Letter from Cranmer to the King. Strype, Mem. Cranm. Appendix, 696.

[h] Herbert, 178.

necessary, by the abolition of the papal power, which had been voted in the last session of Parliament. Still, the exercise of spiritual power by a layman, could not fail of giving a considerable shock to the prejudices of the age, and was directly repugnant to the principles which Henry had been used to maintain. He did not, therefore, choose to assume the powers conferred upon him by the Legislature before he had consulted with the privy council, and with the bishops. By the council he was furnished with precedents, proving that former Kings of England had exercised a jurisdiction over ecclesiastical affairs. The bishops recapitulated the arguments upon this subject, that had been advanced recently in Convocation, by which they asserted it to have been undeniably proved, that the jurisdiction of the Pope over England has no warrant in the Word of God. To this they added, that the unanimity with which the universities and clergy, both regular and secular, had disclaimed the papal authority, was a plain proof that those who were best informed upon the subject, could discover no good reason for upholding the jurisdiction of the Roman see over people not politically connected with it. Thus fortified by the deliberate opinions expressed by his wisest counsellors, Henry no longer made any scruple of accepting the title and privileges which his Parliament had conferred upon him[1]. He assumed the supreme

[1] Herbert, 178.

direction of ecclesiastical affairs during the remainder of his reign, and there was no branch of his prerogative upon which he placed a higher value.

Besides the accession of power thus gained by the crown, another act of Parliament transferred to it a branch of revenue, which the Popes had been used to enjoy. From the payment of first fruits and tenths into the papal treasury, the holders of ecclesiastical benefices had been excused in a former session of the Legislature, and the clergy had thus derived a benefit of some importance from the rupture of their connexion with Rome. They had, however, now the mortification to find, that this relief was not to continue. The proportion of ecclesiastical incomes formerly claimed by the Pope, was now vested in the King; and the clergy had the additional mortification to perceive, that from the exchange of masters, they were very unlikely to become pecuniary gainers. It was determined that the payments from ecclesiastical benefices should be made for the future, according to a new and strict valuation. Commissioners were appointed to place an estimate upon church property of every description throughout the kingdom. The bishops of the several dioceses were always included in these commissions; the other members of them appear to have been chiefly laymen. These commissioners were empowered to require the attendance of all clergymen, whether regular or secular, possessed of any spiritual preferment whatever, to inspect their

account-books, examine their receivers [k], and in fine to omit no method by which could be ascertained the exact value of every piece of ecclesiastical property contained in England. In the estimate to be returned by the commissioners, no account was to be taken of repairs, of the serving of cures, or of any other deductions, except permanent and annual charges upon benefices. The valuation of such an immense mass of property as was then vested in the Church, was not accomplished until after the lapse of several years. The commissioners had not completed their labours in Wales even at the accession of Edward VI [l]. Since that time no new valuation has been made: hence the first fruits and tenths of the clergy are still paid according to the returns transmitted to the government by King Henry's commissioners.

Another act of the Parliament provided for the continuance of suffragan bishops in England. Prelates bearing this character, were sufficiently well known, and had been usually decorated by the Pope with some episcopal title derived from a town, which, though not owning his authority, according to the maxims of Romish jurisprudence, was considered as of right subject to the Papacy [m]. Such bishops were useful auxiliaries

[k] Fuller, 227. The valuation of ecclesiastical benefices in use before the reign of Henry VIII. was made towards the end of the thirteenth century, by virtue of an order issued by Pope Nicholas IV. in 1288. Not. Hist. 102.

[l] Fuller, 228.

[m] Christopher, Bishop of Sidon, assisted at the consecration of

to the regular diocesans, in an age when several dioceses were of an inconvenient size, and when prelates were commonly engaged in secular employments. In order, therefore, to prevent any prejudice which might result to the Church from the want of suffragans in future, it was enacted, that any prelate might obtain the assistance of such a coadjutor upon an application to the crown for that purpose. He was to nominate two divines, of whom the King was to choose one; the individual so chosen was then to be presented, by the royal letters patent, to the archbishop of the province in which he was to reside; and being consecrated by that metropolitan, he was to exercise episcopal functions so long as he possessed a licence or commission empowering him thus to act from the bishop of the diocese, but no longer. Twenty-four towns were named in the act, to each of which a suffragan bishop might be assigned[n]; and one was allowed for the Isle of Wight.

Principally with a view to check the bold invectives and seditious harangues of the friars, it

the Bishops Goodrich, Lee, and Salcot. (Strype, Mem. Cranm. 42.) Cornish, Residentiary of Wells, was employed under the title of Thomas, Episcopus Tinensis, to assist Bishop Fox when he held the see of Exeter. Note to Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 248.

[n] The following are the names of these towns: Thetford, Ipswich, Colchester, Dover, Guildford, Southampton, Taunton, Shaftsbury, Molton, Marlborough, Bedford, Leicester, Gloucester, Shrewsbury, Bristol, Penrith, Bridgewater, Nottingham, Grantham, Hull, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Berwick, and St. Germain's. Ibid.

was made treason in this session of Parliament to deny the King's right to the crown, or to call him a heretic, schismatic, infidel, tyrant, or usurper. Nor were those who should transgress this statute to be allowed the privilege of sanctuary [o]. Another act attainted Bishop Fisher, with five inferior clergymen [p], for refusing to take the oath of succession, as tendered to them; and declared that their benefices should be considered vacant on the second of the following January. The attainder of Sir Thomas More was invidiously reserved for a separate enactment, in the preamble to which, he was charged with ungratefully endeavouring to excite sedition among the people, in return for the great benefits which the King had bestowed upon him. Before the Parliament was prorogued, a general amnesty was granted by the crown; but Sir Thomas More, and the Bishop of Rochester, were expressly excluded from the benefit of it [q].

However great might be the satisfaction of those who favoured the Reformation, when they contemplated what had been done in the two last sessions of Parliament, they could not avoid feeling that much remained to be effected before the Catholic faith would be restored to the people of England in its native purity. It was true, indeed, that Papal interference was no longer allowed to

[o] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 247.

[p] Whose names were Plummer, Wilson, Powell, Fetherstone, and Wyllir. Ibid. 249.

[q] Ibid.

insult the national independence; but the religion of the Roman Church was still established by law, and rooted in the affections of the majority of men throughout the country. In order to shake this veneration for the system of religious belief in which the people had been educated, and to afford to those who favoured the doctrines of genuine Christianity, the advantage of supporting their arguments by appealing to an accessible standard possessed of an authority universally recognized; Cranmer was anxious to see the Bible published in English. In desiring to accomplish this object, he was only labouring to restore a privilege to his countrymen, which, until the fatal dominance of the Papal Church, had been enjoyed by every people favoured with the revelation of God's will. When it pleased the Author and Giver of all goodness to reveal himself to the ancient Israelites, his words were recorded in the language that they spoke vernacularly. After a captivity of seventy years by the waters of Babylon, had taught to the Jewish populace the speech of their oppressors, in the place of that used by their ancestors; one of the first measures adopted by the pious Ezra, after the people's return to Jerusalem, was the accommodation of their religious service to the change which their forced emigration had wrought in their idiom. The law was indeed read to the restored race of Israel, in the very words which their forefathers had been used to hear; but no sooner was a verse of the original Hebrew concluded, than an interpreter who stood by ren-

dered it into Chaldee for the instruction of the congregation. Such continued to be the practice among the Jews who remained at home, and in time, Chaldee paraphrases of the sacred volume, under the name of Targums, dispersed among the people in a written form the knowledge of God's will. When the nation had extended itself, and many Jews had settled among the neighbouring heathens, another version of the Scriptures became necessary, and accordingly one was provided. The Septuagint rendered the same services to the Jews settled among the Greeks, that the Targums did to those who continued in their own land[r]. A direct approval of this course was given from the highest authority, in the more complete revelation of God's will which followed the Saviour's ascension. The language most highly esteemed, and most generally understood at that time was the Greek. In that language, accordingly, did the Apostles and Evangelists deliver to mankind their written instructions. As, however, a large portion of those who embraced the Gospel, were unable to understand the idiom of Greece, translations of the Scriptures were made for the use of such as were thus situated, even in the infancy of the Christian Church[s]. The Oriental believers had

[r] The Old and New Testament connected by Humphrey Prideaux, D. D. Dean of Norwich. Lond. 1720. II. 413.

[s] "Propagata brevi in universas Imperii Romani provincias Religione Christiana, Scriptura statim omnibus populis tradita, et in ipsorum linguas translata." (Hist. Crit. Vet. Test. Auctore Ric. Simonio. Francq. 1698. II. 74.) In another place the

their spiritual wants supplied by the Syriac version: those of the West, by the Italic, or ancient Vulgate[a]. Nor did it cease to be the benevolent and judicious policy of those holy men who laboured to Christianize the world, that, whenever a nation was converted to the faith, the Book of inspiration was rendered into its native tongue. The Anglo-Saxons derived as usual this advantage

learned critic tells us, that this general practice of translating Scripture was necessary. "Quandoquidem Scriptura propter fidelium eruditionem promulgata est, statim ab initio in Ecclesiis lecta fuit. *Quamobrem necessum fuit ut propria lingua utraque Ecclesia illam haberet.*" However, Father Simon has not forgotten to supply on a subsequent occasion the following reason for the variation from antiquity as to the use of Scripture, which even a well-informed Romanist can hardly fail of remarking in the usage of his Church. "Nunquam tamen plane aut in universum illam (Scripturam) Ecclesia interdixit, hac in re Chrysostomi et *plurimorum aliorum veterum* exemplum imitata, a quibus Scripturæ lectio populis valde commendata. Quia tum temporis suis pastoribus obedientissimi obsequentissimique erant, et ab illis Scripturas interpretandi methodum et rationem hauriebant, poterat illarum lectio libenter ipsis concedi. Ex adverso in hisce postremis sæculis contigit tot hæresium monstris exortis *fermè Traditionem rejici*, et pro suo marte quemque vel de infima plebe Scripturas interpretari ausum, inconsultis legitimis Ecclesiæ pastoribus." (124.) These words might do credit to one who had never happened to read of the various heresies which distracted the Church in those halcyon days when so many illustrious men thought the reading of Scripture to be useful to the people. Perhaps, however, this passage may tend to confirm some readers in a belief, that the people in those days, never having heard of tradition as a rule of faith, were in no danger of disagreeing with their lawful pastors as to the propriety of rejecting such a guide.

[a] Simon.

from their conversion to Christianity. By different individuals among them, the whole Bible appears to have been rendered into their vernacular idiom[w]. However, after the Norman conquest, Englishmen gradually lost the means of access to scriptural knowledge which they had once enjoyed. The numerous foreigners who flocked into the island, and who filled nearly all the upper departments in society, quickly adulterated the national language; thus books adapted for the instruction of a Saxon population gradually became unintelligible to those who lived under the rule of the Plantagenets. When, at length, the amalgamation of Saxons and Normans had formed an idiom generally intelligible, the chiefs of the national Church felt no desire to spread biblical knowledge. They were usually the obedient slaves of the Roman see; they were men who placed a high value upon the subtleties of scholastic theology, but who had been trained to think little of the inspired volume. Indeed such was the neglect into which the Scriptures eventually sank, that even the Latin versions of them could not at one time be purchased[x]. This lamentable obstruction to the progress of know-

[w] History of the Translations of the Bible, by John Lewis, A.M. Lond. 1818. p. 7.

[x] "When Archbishop Fitz-ralph sent three or four of the secular priests of his diocese of Armagh into England, (A.D. 1357.) to study divinity in Oxford, they were forced very soon to return, because they could not find there a Bible to be sold."—Ibid. 53.

ledge truly valuable, first yielded to the labours of Wickliffe. That great reformer once more introduced his countrymen to an acquaintance with the Book of Life, by presenting it to them in an English dress. His translation was made from the Latin Vulgate[y], with a degree of closeness which occasionally impairs its perspicuity. This servile adherence to that standard of scriptural knowledge which their Church authorized, did not, however, reconcile the ruling ecclesiastics of England to Wickliffe's version. On the contrary, they denounced the work as incorrect, and laboured to prevent its circulation. Their endeavours to accomplish the latter object were attended with very considerable success. Within a few years after the death of Wickliffe, a copy of his New Testament was not to be bought under an extravagant price, for that age[z]. Afterwards, these books became cheaper; but as they were to the last prohibited, and in manuscript, it is not likely that their possessors were ever very numerous.

Thus it happened, that when the Reformation first engaged the attention of the English public,

[y] "The learned Dr. Thomas James observed of it, that it agrees verbatim with the vulgar Latin, some of the gross faults only excepted." History of the Translations of the Bible, by John Lewis, A.M. Lond. 1818. p. 23.

[z] "Archbishop Usher tells us from the Register of William Alnewick, Bishop of Norwich, 1429, quoted by Mr. Fox, that the price of one of these English New Testaments was four marks and forty pence, or 2*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* which, the Archbishop observed, is as much as will now buy forty New Testaments." Ibid. 25.

the conformity of its doctrines with those revealed in Scripture became a matter of doubt, which few persons, comparatively, possessed the means of solving. To remedy this defect, there was no want of zeal and talents among those Englishmen who desired to see their country blessed with a change of religion. But the national authorities were adverse to their views; and they had good reason to conclude, that any attempt to enlighten the minds of the people by a new version of the Scriptures, would draw down upon the translators the vengeance of those in power. A conviction of this impelled a devout Englishman to seek that protection for his labours from a foreign government, which, he could not doubt, would be refused to him at home. William Tyndale was born on the borders of Wales, and studied in both the English Universities. Before he left the precincts of these learned societies, he became much addicted to biblical researches, and he had laboured with some success to introduce a similar taste among his fellow students. On his removal from college he became tutor in a gentleman's family; in which situation he disgusted some of the dignified clergymen who visited at his patron's house, by his commendations of Luther and Erasmus, and by his alacrity in defending the arguments of these celebrated men. As Tyndale had begun to print as well as argue on this side of the question, he found, after a short time, that he must leave his situation, unless he would make up his mind to face a prosecution for heresy. Being de-

sirous of not incurring this danger unnecessarily, he withdrew from the country in the hope that his learning would obtain for him a situation in the family of Tunstall, then Bishop of London, a personage justly famed for his accomplishments and liberality. However, when Tyndale arrived in the metropolis, he found that the prelate, upon whom he had calculated as a new patron, had already so many dependants that he could not find room for another. Fortunately this disappointment was more than compensated to the destitute scholar by the liberality of Henry Monmouth, an opulent merchant and alderman of London[a]. Monmouth had imbibed the doctrine of Luther, and he generously assigned to Tyndale a pension of ten pounds *per annum*[b], for the purpose of enabling him to reside on the continent, and there to pursue his labours for the benefit of England. Being thus provided with a decent maintenance, the pious Englishman first proceeded to Saxony, where he had the satisfaction of conversing with Luther. He afterwards took up his abode at Antwerp, and in that great commercial city he occupied himself in translating the New Testa-

[a] "Who took him into his house for half a year; where the said Tyndale lived, as he said, a good priest, studying both night and day. He would eat but sodden meat by his good will, nor drink but small single beer. He was never seen in that house to wear linen about him, all the space of his being there." Answer of Alderman Monmouth to articles of heresy exhibited against him. Foxe, 909.

[b] "This was then a sufficient maintenance for a single man. Lewis, 59. Note.

ment. Of this important work 1500 copies were printed at Antwerp, anonymously, in the year 1526[c]. The volume was no sooner published than it found its way into England, where it occasioned no little disgust and uneasiness among the clergy. It, however, soon became manifest that the circulation of the work could not be wholly prevented; since the commercial intercourse between England and the Netherlands afforded innumerable facilities for its importation, and the people were not easily convinced that God's revealed word was unsuited for the reading of his rational creatures. Under these difficulties, Bishop Tunstall thought that the best way to prevent the obnoxious books from finding an entrance into all parts of the land, would be by destroying every copy of the work that should fall in his way.

An opportunity of effecting this destruction upon a large scale presented itself to him on one of his diplomatic journeys abroad, in the year 1529. The prelate, being at Antwerp, sent for Austin Packington, an English merchant there, who was a secret favourer of Tyndale. In the course of conversation, Packington was sounded by the Bishop as to the best means of procuring all the copies of the New Testament which remained unsold. Nothing could be more desirable to the meritorious translator than to turn his books into money immediately, since he was very

[c] Foxe. Lewis.

much straitened in circumstances, and wholly unable to print a corrected edition of his work, while the former impression continued upon his hands. The English merchant, being well aware of Tyndale's condition and intentions, readily entered into Tunstall's scheme, and said that he could easily procure all the unsold Testaments if his lordship would find the money wherewith to pay for them. The Bishop, delighted to hear this, replied in the following words: "Gentle master Packington, do your diligence and get the books. I will pay you for them with all my heart. They are erroneous and naughty: therefore, I surely intend to destroy them all by having them burnt at Paul's Cross." After hearing this, the trader took his leave. He then made the best of his way to Tyndale, whom he thus addressed: "William, I know thou art a poor man, and hast a heap of New Testaments and books by thee, for the which thou hast both endangered thy friends and beggared thyself. However, I have now gotten thee a merchant, who, with ready money, shall despatch thee of all that thou hast, if thou thinkest it so profitable for thyself." "Pray," said Tyndale, "who is the merchant?" "The Bishop of London," was the answer. "O, that is because he will burn them," rejoined Tyndale. "Yea, marry," was Packington's answer. "Well, be it so," said the translator: "I am the gladder; for these two benefits shall come thereby. I shall get money of him for these books to bring myself out of debt, and the whole world shall cry out upon the

burning of God's word. As for the overplus that shall remain to me after the settlement of my accounts, it shall make me the more studious to correct the said New Testament, and so newly to imprint the same again. And, I trust, the second will much more like you than ever did the first[d]." It was not long after this before the books were delivered to Tunstall, and the price of them to Tyndale, who heartily thanked his mercantile friend for having thus contrived to relieve his present necessities, and to furnish him with the means of bringing out a more perfect edition of his useful work. While he was labouring to effect this, the Bishop arrived in England; where he did not fail to amaze the Londoners by publicly committing to the flames his Antwerp purchase. Few things could be more injurious to the Romish cause than this indecent exhibition. The people were disgusted when they saw the volumes containing God's undoubted word subjected to this ignominious treatment; and the impression which it made upon their minds naturally was, that no man acquainted with Scripture could give credence to the established religion[e].

While this opinion was fast gaining ground in England, Tyndale industriously employed his time in his retreat at Antwerp, in preparing a new version of the Testament, such a one as might be a more perfect portrait of the original than that which he had recently published. He was, espe-

[d] Halle. [e] Burnet, Hist. Ref. I. 251.

cially for the age in which he lived, well qualified for the task; since, in addition to the learning then in vogue, he had acquired a knowledge of the Greek language[f]. He was now determined upon the production of such a translation as would defy the objections of any fair and learned critic. He therefore proceeded in his task in a very leisurely manner. As, however, the impatience of the English public for a sight of his translation had been violently excited by the Bishop of London's injudicious conduct, some enterprising Hollanders began to speculate upon the returns likely to be realised by a new impression of that very work which the English clergy had been so anxious to decry. Accordingly, a Dutch edition of Tyndale's Testament was printed in the year 1527. Five thousand copies of it were struck off, and, to use the words of an ancient writer, these books came over into England "thick and threefold[g]." The Dutchmen were, of course, delighted with the success of their speculation. They undertook two more editions successively[h], and it appeared that the English market was even yet not overstocked. The clergy were astounded at the wide dissemination of a book which they so much dreaded. Tunstall appears to have thought that Packington had only furnished him with a portion

[f] He brought with him to London, as a recommendation to Bishop Tunstall, an oration of Isocrates, which he had translated from Greek into English. Foxe, 982.

[g] Halle.

[h] Lewis, 64.

of the copies on hand. He therefore sent for that merchant, and required him to explain how it happened that, in spite of his purchase, England was deluged with New Testaments. The trader's answer was: "My Lord, the types yet remain; your Lordship had better buy them up." But the Bishop had been somewhat enlightened by the event of his proceeding at Antwerp. He smiled, and after merely saying, "Well, Packington, well," his visitor was dismissed[j]. Still, however, the men in power were not cured of their folly, indecent as it was, and abortive as they had found it. A strict search was made for those who ventured to import the obnoxious books, and some of the individuals thus engaged were detected. These men were paraded through the streets of London on horseback, with their faces towards the animals' tails, and with a string of English Testaments fastened about their necks. After being thus exhibited to the gaze of the populace, they were conducted to a fire blazing in some public place, into which they were compelled to throw the hated volumes[k]. Sir Thomas More was now entrusted with the seals, and he thought that some way to prevent the farther importation of Tyndale's books might be devised, if the translator's principal English friend could be discovered. The Chancellor hoped to make this discovery by means of George Constantine, who had been taken into custody upon a charge of heresy, and who

[j] Halle.

[k] Lewis, 66.

was known as an associate of the English refugees in Flanders. To this prisoner More thus addressed himself: "Constantine, I would have thee be plain with me in one thing that I will ask, and I promise thee I will shew thee favour in all other things whereof thou art accused. There is beyond the sea, Tyndale, Joye, and a great many of you. I know they cannot live without help. There be some that help and succour them with money, and thou, being one of them, hadst thy part thereof, and therefore knowest from whence it came. I pray thee, tell me who be they that help them thus?" The following was Constantine's reply. "My Lord, I will tell you truly: it is the Bishop of London that hath holpen us, for he hath bestowed among us a great deal of money upon New Testaments to burn them, and that hath been, and yet is, our only succour and comfort." "Now, by my truth," said More, "I think even the same, for so much I told the Bishop before he went about it[1]."

The clergy by this time began to suspect that it might prove above their power to prevent the circulation of the Scriptures in English, and they were persuaded that it was not advantageous to the cause of Romanism to appear anxious for the suppression of the Sacred Volume. Accordingly, on the 25th of May, 1531, the King was induced to lend the sanction of his presence to a meeting of prelates, officers of state, and scholars of emi-

[1] Foxe, 929.

nence, holden in the Star Chamber; when heavy complaints were made against many publications then abroad, and particularly against Tyndale's Testament, which was said to be very unfaithful to the original. The results of the meeting were a proclamation against the obnoxious books, and a promise that the Scriptures should be speedily translated in such a manner as not to deceive their readers. No attempt, however, was made to redeem this pledge, and therefore the people continued to supply themselves, in spite of every precaution taken to prevent it, with the books imported from the Netherlands[m].

The Testaments derived from this quarter had become extremely faulty, from the ignorance of English prevailing among the foreigners who superintended the impression of them. In order to remedy this defect, the Dutch printers who had pirated Tyndale's work, engaged George Joye, a learned Englishman, who had taken refuge on the continent, to correct the press of a fourth edition. Joye did not content himself with barely fulfilling the duty that he had undertaken; he, in some places, also corrected the version itself[n]. This liberty with his work gave the highest offence to Tyndale, who reflected upon Joye with unbecoming severity in a preface to the second edition of the Testament, proceeding from his own hands. This work was published in November, 1533[o]; about three months after the appearance of that

[m] Lewis, 75. [n] Ibid. 80. [o] Ibid. 82.

fourth Dutch edition, which had been brought out with the benefit of Joye's assistance. Besides the New Testament, Tyndale, who was acquainted with Hebrew, had translated the Pentateuch, with some other portions of the former volume of inspiration; and had determined to present his countrymen with a complete version of the Bible. He had also translated and composed several tracts, for the purpose of exposing the Romish religion. At length his pious labours were prematurely brought to a close, by the malice of his enemies. A degenerate Englishman basely undertook to betray him; and after a confinement of a year and a half, he was strangled at the stake, and his body then consumed to ashes[p], at Vilvorde, a small town between Mechlin and Brussels. Just before he expired, he discovered the fervency of his zeal, and the amiableness of his temper, by uttering the following prayer: "Lord, open the King of England's eyes."

But although posterity cannot fail of doing justice to the indefatigable industry and upright intentions of Tyndale, his contemporaries were far from unanimous as to his merits[q]. Besides being a translator of Scripture, he was a diligent pamphleteer on the Protestant side. His active hostility had therefore greatly exasperated the zealous Romanists. On this account, even if his version

[p] In the year 1536. Foxe, 985.

[q] "Multis exitio fuit Gul. Tindallus Lutheranæ fraternitatis assecla, cujus gloriolam æmulatus, Sacra Volumina suis impuris versionibus et scholiis vellicavit." Campianus de Divortio.

had embraced the whole Bible, and had been rendered more complete as to its execution, than it actually was, his work could not have been recommended to the people under the sanction of the royal authority, without exciting considerable clamour. In order to avoid this inconvenience, the Archbishop rather desired to see the pledge redeemed, which had been given to the nation during the primacy of his predecessor. He reminded the Convocation of the admission made in the Star-Chamber little more than two years and a half before, that a correct version of the Scriptures would be an important benefit to the people. As the Primate advocated the propriety of publishing such a version, as it might reasonably be supposed that the court favoured his views, and as the clergy were loud in their complaints of Tyndale's volume, it can occasion no surprise that an address to the throne, praying for a new translation of the Bible, should have been voted unanimously in the Upper House of Convocation. The members of that assembly came to a resolution, on the 19th of December, that the Archbishop should, in their names, intreat the King to nominate some honest, learned men, for the purpose of rendering the Scriptures into English, in order that the Sacred Volume "should be delivered unto the people according to their learning." From these last words it is plain, that the Convocation had not gone so far as to approve the indiscriminate reading of the Bible. Nor, as it appears, were they willing to countenance the

Archbishop's proposal at all, without the granting of some concessions to them with respect to obnoxious books, then in circulation. The address to the throne, committed to the Primate's care, not only prayed for a translation of God's revealed will; it also intreated of the King "to decree and command, that all his subjects, in whose possession any books of suspect doctrine were, especially in the vulgar language, imprinted beyond, or on this side the sea, should be warned, within three months, to bring them in before persons appointed by the King, under a certain pain, to be limited by the King." In consequence of this address, a royal proclamation was issued against the publications that had given offence to the clergy; and the Archbishop made some attempts to procure a new version of the Scriptures[r].

This address of the Convocation was the last of those important steps which were taken during this year by the national authorities towards the Reformation. The externals of the established religion, indeed, still remained; but the principles on which it had been founded, were no longer recognised by the English government. The Pope's character was declared to be the same as that of any other foreign bishop; it was admitted, that an acquaintance with God's will could be obtained from authentic records alone, to which the more intelligent classes, at all events, ought

[r] Strype, Mem. Cranm. 51.

to have access. Much beyond these points, the Reformation, as a religious system, did not proceed during King Henry's reign. Still, the light which had been admitted into the country, was not inoperative during that period. The political supports of the Romish Church were gradually undermined, and its corruptions were successively exposed. The complete triumph, however, of the Protestant religion was impeded perhaps by the prejudices of the monarch, certainly by the artifices of party. From this unsettled state of ecclesiastical affairs, flowed much individual suffering. But it seems probable, upon that account alone, is it to be regretted that the English Reformation proceeded so slowly as it did. There is *reason to believe*, that if the Romish religion had been completely abolished in England at the beginning of Cranmer's primacy, Lutheranism would have been substituted in its room. However, by the force of political circumstances, the outward forms of the Roman worship were maintained among the English people during many years after the principles of the Papal Church had been disclaimed. The result of this was, that comparatively little violence was done to the consciences of such moderate men as favoured the Reformation; and that, at the same time, they were restrained from committing themselves by a premature avowal of sentiments, which they had not duly considered. Thus it happened, that when at length a complete triumph over their adversaries was gained by the Protestant party, all their

plans of reform had been maturely weighed, and the Church of England was established upon principles not so much derived from the labours of former divines, however eminent, as from an impartial, a laborious, and a protracted study of the written Word.

END OF VOLUME I.

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